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AMERICA'S SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS



AMERICA'S
SYMPHONY
ORCHESTRAS

And How They Are Supported

by

MARGARET GRANT

and

HERMAN S. HETTINGER

New York

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Publishers

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FOREWORD

THIS volume is the result of a study of the economic problems of symphony orchestras in the United States with a view of determining possible ways and means of improving their financial stability. While the interest in symphonic music has been growing rapidly, most symphony orchestras lead a precarious financial existence. In the majority of cases the revenues from ticket sales amount to little more than half of operating expenses and the remaining deficit must be met either by income from endowment, public contribution, or government subsidy. The financial instability of symphony orchestras hampers long-range planning and the attainment of their full effectiveness in their communities. Consequently, an appraisal of the entire problem of the support of symphony orchestras is both timely and interesting.

The survey on which this volume is based was made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Carnegie Corporation is not the author, publisher, or proprietor of this publication and is not to be understood as approving, by virtue of its grant, any

of the statements made or views expressed therein. The project was organized as the National Orchestral Survey and was under the general supervision of an Executive Board composed of the following: J. Frederic Dewhurst, Twentieth-Century Fund, *Chairman*; Alan Valentine, University of Rochester; Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies; Morse A. Cartwright, American Association for Adult Education; Eric T. Clarke, Association of American Colleges; Robert T. Crane, Social Science Research Council; Howard Hanson, Eastman School of Music; Nikolai Sokoloff, orchestra conductor; and W. Oliver Strunk, Princeton University.

Many of the data were assembled through questionnaires returned by approximately 150 of the 300 symphony orchestras of various kinds throughout the country. Much valuable information was obtained by interview with orchestra managers, boards of directors, conductors, music critics, educators, musicians, union officials, and members of sponsoring organizations. For this purpose visits were made to all the cities having major symphony orchestras, as well as to many smaller communities with secondary orchestras. While it was not possible for the survey to conduct extensive researches into the attitudes of audiences and the general public toward symphonic music, limited studies were made by questionnaires distributed to audiences in Los Angeles, California; Grand Rapids, Michigan; and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

For the purpose of this study symphony orchestras in

general have been divided arbitrarily upon the basis of the size of their budgets into two classes: (1) major orchestras—professional organizations with budgets of \$100,000 or over for the regular season; and (2) secondary symphony orchestras—including professional and semiprofessional organizations with budgets of less than \$100,000. The 16 major orchestras have been further classified into three subgroups, likewise based upon the size of their 1937-38 budgets:

MAJOR SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS

- Group I*—Budgets \$600,000 and over—Boston Symphony Orchestra, New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, Philadelphia Orchestra.
- Group II*—Budgets \$200,000 to \$600,000—Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, Detroit Symphony Orchestra, Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, San Francisco Symphony Orchestra.
- Group III*—Budgets \$100,000 to \$200,000—Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, Kansas City Symphony Orchestra, National Symphony Orchestra, Washington, D. C., Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, Rochester Civic-Philharmonic Orchestra.

The secondary orchestras have also been divided into three subgroups:

- Group IV*—With budgets \$10,000 to \$100,000, primarily professional organizations, such as the Buffalo, Grand Rapids, Harrisburg, Houston, New Orleans, and Wheeling orchestras.
- Group V*—With budgets \$1,000 to \$10,000, chiefly semiprofessional organizations, such as the Albany, Charlotte, Fall River, Little Rock, Spokane, and Vermont symphony orchestras.
- Group VI*—With budgets less than \$1,000, largely amateur, such as Crawfordsville, Indiana; Roxborough, Pennsylvania; Terre Haute, Indiana; and Walla Walla, Washington.

The task of analysis was made difficult in many cases by the fact that the statistical data returned by the various orchestras were by no means uniform in completeness or accuracy. The presentation of the information was equally difficult in view of the necessity for making the report useful and interesting to the general public, as well as to managers and boards who would naturally expect to find detailed data. For the general reader some of the statistical chapters, such as Chapter Three, may have only slight interest, but they are necessary for those who are concerned with the technical problems of orchestra operation. A brief summary has been appended to Chapter Three for the convenience of those only slightly interested in the financial details of orchestra operation.

The authors are indebted to an Advisory Committee of the Board including J. Frederic Dewhurst, Eric T. Clarke, Robert T. Crane, and W. Oliver Strunk, for

valuable advice and guidance during the course of study. The survey is further indebted to a large number of those who are active in the symphony orchestra field, particularly to the managers of the major symphony orchestras whose co-operation involved not only the laborious task of preparing long and detailed historical and statistical data, but also the contribution of a great deal of their time for interviews and advice. Special thanks are due to Arthur J. Gaines of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, George E. Judd of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Arthur Judson of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, Arthur M. See of the Rochester Civic Music Association, and Henry E. Voegeli of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Harry Hewes of the Federal Music Project was most helpful in providing information regarding the symphony orchestras of the project. William A. Derstine has also given very valuable advice and assistance. Much of the value of this survey is due to Mary R. Paton, research associate of the National Orchestral Survey, who gave invaluable assistance in the planning and execution of consumer aspects of this study, in the development of the orchestra questionnaires, and in the general work of statistical analysis.

Margaret Grant
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NEW YORK, N. Y.

AMERICA'S SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS

ONE

RISE OF AMERICAN SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS

SYMPHONIC music has attained a high estate in the cultural and recreational life of the United States and is constantly and rapidly widening the extent of its appeal. Despite the myriad competing interests it is strengthening its claim upon our leisure time. The most striking manifestation of its present importance is the existence in this country of 16 major symphony orchestras, most of them equal and several of them superior to the best in Europe. Indeed, no other country has as many first rank orchestras, either in absolute numbers or in relation to its population. These 16 orchestras have annual budgets ranging in 1937-38 from \$120,000 to about \$750,000 and aggregating about \$5,000,000. During their regular season they gave 1,300 concerts at which the total annual attendance was about 2,750,000 persons. In addition, a number of these orchestras have series of summer concerts at which a single audience may number 20,000 paid admissions as at the Lewisohn Stadium Concerts of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society and the Hollywood Bowl Concerts of the Philhar-

monic Orchestra of Los Angeles. Free summer concerts, such as the Esplanade series in Boston, or those in Grant Park, Chicago, have even larger audiences.

Further evidence of the place held by symphonic music lies in the 250 or more lesser symphony orchestras of professional or semiprofessional status in communities of every kind and in the 30,000¹ amateur orchestras in schools, colleges, and conservatories throughout the country. Each of these orchestras gives from 2 or 3 to 9 or 10 concerts a year to a vast audience. This large-scale development of popular support and participation in symphony orchestra activities is unparalleled and, combined with the number of major orchestras, lays a firmer basis than chauvinism for the claim that the United States is the most symphony-loving nation in the world.

Symphonic music, furthermore, is reaching an ever wider public through phonograph records and radio broadcasting. It has been estimated that in 1938 about 3,500,000 classical recordings were sold, a large proportion of these being symphonic. The Sunday afternoon broadcasts of the concerts of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony reach an audience estimated at 9 to 10 millions. The NBC orchestra, with Toscanini conducting, and the Ford Hour reach a somewhat smaller number. The broadcasts of the principal orchestras on the Pacific coast sponsored by the Standard Oil Company of California are extremely popular. The availability of such fine music through records and radio has

¹ Estimate by Joseph E. Maddy, President of the National Music Camp, Interlochen, Michigan, and Professor of Radio Music Instruction, University of Michigan.

been regarded by some as a deterrent to attendances at concerts. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence that these media have created wider interest in symphonic music and have contributed to the growth in the number of symphony orchestras and the size of their audiences.

More than four-fifths of our present orchestras of all types have been established since the close of the World War, over half since 1929. Paradoxical as it seems, the greatest growth occurred during the most severe years of the depression. Indeed, the vitality of interest in symphonic music was clearly demonstrated during those difficult years. No major symphony discontinued operation; some major orchestras had larger attendance and ticket receipts for their regular seasons in 1932-33 than in 1928-29; others dropped only slightly in ticket receipts—the New York Philharmonic, for example, 5 per cent; the Chicago Symphony, 16 per cent; the Cincinnati Symphony, 17 per cent.

In spite of their vitality, growth in numbers, and the volume of their attendance, all symphony orchestras are facing serious financial problems and their future rests on an unstable basis. Receipts from tickets have never been enough to balance the costs. Among the major symphonies, the three most successful earn only an average of 85 per cent of their total budgets, while others earn less than half, and the whole group averages about 60 per cent. The operating ratios of the secondary orchestras exhibit about the same range. All, therefore, have had to resort to various kinds of deficit financing. The major orchestras are dependent upon one or more kinds of non-

operating income—annual maintenance funds provided through popular subscription, income from endowment, or some form of state or municipal subsidy. Endowments are becoming more difficult to build up and the income therefrom has been found uncertain when most needed in depressions. Annual maintenance fund drives are finding fewer large donors and are reaching out for more contributors of small sums. Subsidies have been little tried in this country and involve many problems. If symphony orchestras are to remain as permanent assets in our culture, it becomes worth while to consider carefully the forces which have underlain their development, the place they occupy today, the manner in which their financing problems have been met in the past, and the possibility of improving and stabilizing their economic status.

Periods of Development

Although the development of symphonic music in the United States has exhibited its more spectacular phases during the last twenty years, its roots go deep into the past. The establishment in 1842 of the New York Philharmonic Society, the oldest symphony orchestra in this country and one of the oldest in the world, was preceded by more than a century of active interest in instrumental music and was followed by fifty years of pioneering and foundation laying. During the whole preliminary period up to 1900, as shown in Tables I and II, 13 of the symphony orchestras now in existence—7 major and 6 secondary orchestras—had been founded. Then followed

three fairly distinct periods, each representing an accelerated tempo of development. From 1900 to 1920, 29 orchestras, 6 major and 23 secondary, were organized. The next decade produced 55, only 2 of which rank as major orchestras;² and finally the decade since 1930 has wit-

TABLE I. NUMBER OF SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS^a EXISTING IN 1937 (PERIOD FOUNDED AND SIZE OF CITY)

Size of City: 1930 Population	Total	Founding Date Un- known	<i>Known Founding Date</i>			
			Prior 1900	1900-1920	1920-1930	1930-1937
Metropolitan districts over						
1,000,000 population . . .	87	19	6	15	16	31
Cities 500,000 to 1,000,000 .	9	1	..	1	4	3
300,000 to 500,000	17	1	2	3	3	8
200,000 to 300,000	15	1	1	1	6	6
100,000 to 200,000	41	8	2	4	12	15
50,000 to 100,000	30	11	..	1	8	10
Under 50,000	39	16	2	4	6	11
<i>Total</i>	238	57	13	29	55	84

Figures do not include orchestras supported entirely by the Federal Music Project, but they do include orchestras sponsored jointly by the Project and the community. Yearbook figures probably cover 90 per cent of all existing orchestras; on this basis (including 36 Federal Music Project orchestras in 1939) the total number of symphony orchestras in the United States in 1939 can be estimated at about 300. Discussion in the historical chapters is necessarily based on statistics of orchestras existing in 1937, since data regarding those established and discontinued before that date are meager.

^a Source: Music Year Book, Pierre Key Publishing Co., New York, 1938.

² Including the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra revived as a new organization in 1926.

nessed the formation of 84 orchestras,⁸ or nearly as many as were founded during the entire previous century.

TABLE II. MAJOR ORCHESTRAS AND DATES OF ORIGIN ^a

New York Philharmonic ^b	1842
Symphony Society of New York ^b	1878
St. Louis Symphony Orchestra	1880
Boston Symphony Orchestra	1881
Chicago Symphony Orchestra	1891
Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra	1895
Philadelphia Orchestra	1900
Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra	1903
San Francisco Symphony Orchestra	1909
Cleveland Orchestra	1918
Detroit Symphony Orchestra	1919
Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles ^c	1919
Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra ^d	1926
Rochester Civic-Philharmonic Orchestra	1929
Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra	1930
National Symphony Orchestra, Washington, D. C. . .	1931
Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra	1933

^a The dates listed are those claimed by the orchestras in question.

^b In 1928 the New York Philharmonic Society and the Symphony Society of New York were merged.

^c Replacing the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra, founded 1897.

^d This was preceded by an orchestra, founded in 1895 and discontinued in 1910, which was one of the important orchestras of its time.

Until 1920 symphony orchestras were located principally in the leading centers of population and trade, 21 in metropolitan districts of a million or more population, 14 in cities between 100,000 and 1,000,000, and 7 in smaller communities. Since then an increasing number

⁸ Not including 36 WPA orchestras.

and proportion have been formed in the smaller cities. Even now, all of the major orchestras and 58 per cent of all orchestras, are found in communities of 300,000 population and over. It must not be forgotten, however, that the 42 per cent in cities of less than 300,000 represent an aggregate of 125 symphony orchestras, the majority of which have been established within the last twenty years.

Early Orchestras

The early orchestras in this country were closely associated with the activities of opera companies, choirs, and oratorio societies. Probably the first "orchestra" in the colonies was that which accompanied a performance of the *Beggar's Opera* in New York's Nassau Street Theater in 1750. Orchestras thereafter were enlarged and improved as English ballad opera became more popular and successful and as the formation of many oratorio societies to perform such works as *The Creation* and *The Messiah* gave new prominence to instrumental accompaniment. As late as 1839, however, orchestras still were used primarily for accompaniments. Instrumental concerts were rare, and the Boston *Musical Magazine* of that year stated that ". . . Instruments and instrumental music are as yet very little understood, and consequently not properly appreciated in this country. And the reason is plain. First-rate performers can do much better by remaining in Europe."⁴

⁴Frederic Louis Ritter, *Music in America* (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1883), p. 237.

A few European musicians, nevertheless, had already made a mark upon the musical life of the country and as the opera, the theater, and the expanding activities of musical societies provided employment an increasing number of competent musicians were attracted from Europe. One of the earliest and most important of these was Gottlieb Graupner, an oboist who had played under Haydn in the Solomon Concerts in London. He settled in Boston, in 1798, where he kept a music store with the best music, and gave lessons. In 1810, he formed the Philharmonic Society, the first group of professional and amateur players in Boston that could be called an orchestra. The Philharmonic Society was not supported by the general public. Members were admitted by ballot and paid \$10 annually; concerts were open only to invited guests. The orchestra numbered 16 pieces upon the occasion of its last concert in 1824.

In 1815 Graupner was instrumental in establishing the Handel and Haydn Society, a choral organization composed of amateurs grouped about a nucleus of two score professional musicians. This society became one of the most important musical forces in New England. In its first year it presented a concert composed of the first part of Haydn's *Creation* and selected works of Handel and was assisted by an orchestra of 12 pieces and an organ. In 1823 it requested Beethoven to write an oratorio suitable for its use, but, although Beethoven considered the request important enough to be recorded in his notebook, the oratorio was never written.

In the meantime, many other musical societies sprang up. New York, for example, had its Philharmonic So-

ciety formed in 1800, re-established in 1820, and continuing until the organization of the New York Philharmonic Society in 1842. Baltimore boasted a Harmonick Society, founded in 1809. The Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia was formed in 1820. It built the Music Fund Hall in 1824, established an Academy of Music for the purpose of granting degrees, and for a while maintained both a chorus and orchestra. In 1821 it included Beethoven's First Symphony on one of its programs. A Haydn Society was formed in Cincinnati in 1819, a Philharmonic Society in Bethlehem in 1820, and a Beethoven Society in Portland, Maine, in 1821.

Fairly large orchestras were occasionally brought together at the concerts of these societies. A concert by the New York Sacred Music Society, in 1834, included a 42 piece orchestra composed of 14 violins, 3 violas, 4 cellos, 3 double bass, 3 flutes, 4 clarinets—2 to take the oboe parts—3 horns, 2 each of bassoons, trumpets, and trombones, and drums. In 1836 the annual concert of the Musical Fund of New York, composed of professional musicians, had a somewhat similar orchestra of 38 pieces. The Euterpean Society was one of the earliest groups composed entirely of instrumental musicians and was indirectly the predecessor of the New York Philharmonic Society. In its concert of June 30, 1839, the orchestra consisted of 42 pieces, including 2 oboes. Thus, at last, emerged a complete symphony orchestra of tolerably good proportions.

The Boston Academy of Music was founded in 1833 and gave regular orchestral concerts for several seasons with an orchestra ranging from 25 to 40 pieces. It intro-

duced the symphonies of Beethoven to New England, playing the First and Fifth during the first season. In 1837 the Harvard Musical Association was also established. Although Boston had had several short-lived orchestras, the Orchestral Society, which gave its concerts under the auspices of the Harvard Musical Association, was the first to survive a number of years. The association presented several orchestral concerts annually, but the orchestra was still by no means a permanent organization and the musicians depended on employment in the local theaters. Concerts, therefore, were given haphazardly, mostly in the afternoons. It was not until 1865 that the association attempted to establish a regular series of six concerts in order to give the men a sort of guaranty for their services. Thus the association began to take on some of the characteristics of the present-day sustaining organizations which promote the support of permanent orchestras.

America's First Permanent Symphony Orchestra

The decade 1840-50 brought the formation of America's first permanent symphony orchestra, as well as the early traveling symphonic orchestras which did so much to spread musical knowledge, improve taste, and inspire emulation throughout the country.

By 1842 the opera, theater, and the various musical societies had developed a sufficient number of professional musicians in New York to warrant the formation of a permanent orchestra. On April 2, a meeting was called at the Apollo Rooms "For the purpose of consid-

ering the possibility of forming a society of professional musicians residing in the city, having for its object the advancement of instrumental music, and the performance of a number of concerts each year, to be of a higher order than anything that had ever been given in the city.”⁵ The society gave its first public concert on December 7, 1842. The program included Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, von Weber’s overture to *Oberon*, and a scene from Beethoven’s *Fidelio*. Three concerts were given the first season. Then followed 16 seasons with 4 concerts each and 9 seasons with 5. In 1869 the number of concerts was raised to 6 per season.

The society began as a co-operative venture in that it was democratically controlled by the members who engaged the conductor, hired the hall, and, in lieu of salaries, divided the net proceeds after the season’s expenses were paid. Members were admitted only upon a two-thirds favorable vote; they were required to pay an initiation fee of \$25 and an annual tax of \$3. Various regulations and fines governed attendance at rehearsals, the hiring of substitutes, and similar matters. For the first ten years the number of players ranged from 50 to 67. During the second decade the orchestra grew to about 80 members and finally by the third decade it had a membership of 90 to 100.

During the first season of the society the total surplus was \$1,462, while the individual member’s share was \$25. By 1898 the individual member’s share amounted to about \$380, but after 1900 the concert seasons consistently showed a deficit. The democratic control of the

⁵ Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

society continued until 1909 when it was reorganized with guarantors, who pledged themselves to make good the deficit, and with the management in the hands of those financially responsible. Thereafter the members received salaries and were able to devote virtually all their time to the work of the orchestra.

Traveling Orchestras

In the meantime several foreign orchestras had visited this country. The earlier groups had presented, principally, novelties and dance music, but the Germania Orchestra, composed of 24 able young musicians who had found the unsettled conditions in Germany in 1848 not to their liking, was the first foreign orchestra of fine quality to tour the country. The Germanians landed in New York on September 28, 1848, and gave their first concert on October 5. During the next 5 weeks their 20 concerts in New York and Brooklyn were so discouraging that they might have had to disband if the New York Philharmonic Society and a group of interested amateurs had not given them a benefit concert. Even more discouraging was a visit to Philadelphia where a concert on New Year's evening yielded a revenue of only \$9.50 to meet a \$10 rental of the hall. The tide turned with a profitable engagement in Washington and 10 very successful concerts in Baltimore. Finally after a series of performances in various New England cities, the orchestra made its debut in Boston on April 14, 1849, where it immediately became a sensation. While it continued to

travel extensively, its headquarters remained in Boston, the scene of its greatest triumphs.

The influence of this orchestra was great. It brought music of high quality to many communities for the first time and gave many Americans a new standard of performance. During the six years of its existence the orchestra visited practically every important city in the United States. It accompanied Ole Bull and Jenny Lind on tour and gave a series of summer concerts at Castle Garden in New York and at Newport. Furthermore, when the orchestra disbanded its members became leading musical figures in a number of communities. Carl Bergmann, leader of the orchestra, was for more than a decade conductor of the New York Philharmonic Society. Carl Zerrahn became conductor of the Harvard Musical Association concerts, presided over the Handel and Haydn Society, and for thirty years conducted at the Worcester (Mass.) Music Festivals. For several decades, here and there throughout the country, other "Germania" orchestras were established by musicians who had fled the Fatherland and emulated the first Germania Orchestra.

M. Jullien appeared upon the New York scene in 1853. Although he was criticized as excessively theatrical—he had a jeweled baton, white gloves, and a carved armchair decorated in white and gold from which he conducted, facing the audience—he was a good conductor and the quality of his concerts was a revelation to many Americans. He brought with him from Europe an orchestra of 40 or 50 players, including some of the finest performers of the day. In New York, the orches-

tra was augmented to 90. He was the first to introduce programs devoted to the works of a single composer, such as a Beethoven or a Mozart program, and he shrewdly championed the cause of native American composers, notably of H. W. Fry, then critic on the *Tribune*. M. Jullien and his orchestra gave concerts to large audiences in all the principal cities and during his short stay in this country stimulated a great deal of interest in orchestral music.

Still more notable in the development of musical taste and interest in America was Theodore Thomas, whose influence as the leader of a traveling orchestra and later as the conductor of two of the great permanent orchestras probably remains unsurpassed. He came here from Germany as a boy of ten and began a musical career at an early age. In 1864 he assembled an orchestra and began giving concerts in New York in lively competition with the Philharmonic Society. The results for both orchestras were enlarged and improved personnel, more varied and interesting programs, and finer performances. In order to keep his men together and have better control over the orchestra, Thomas inaugurated a series of summer concerts in 1866 at Terrace Garden where refreshments were served and symphonic fare was leavened with lighter music. By 1867 the orchestra was a "permanent" organization with the men guaranteed a full season's work. The financial stability of the enterprise was further improved by the winter tours which Thomas began in 1869. These tours acquainted a rapidly growing public with good music and without doubt inspired the formation of several of the local orchestras which sprang

up a few years later. Moreover, Thomas was a fine musician and good showman, a champion of new music and American composers, and his programs set a progressive example which broadened the repertoire and improved the performance of other orchestras.

In 1877-78 Thomas became conductor of his former rival, the New York Philharmonic Society. In 1879, after a short absence as director of the newly created Cincinnati College of Music, he returned to the Philharmonic and remained as its director until he went to conduct the new, permanently organized Chicago Symphony in the season of 1891-92.

Traveling became an important activity of several of the orchestras permanently established in different cities. Theodore Thomas continued to be one of the leaders in this field, taking the Chicago Symphony Orchestra on an annual tour, principally throughout the Middle West. The tours of Dr. Leopold Damrosch and, later, of his son, Dr. Walter Damrosch, with the New York Symphony covered almost the entire country and undoubtedly were one of the most important influences in the creation of widespread interest in symphonic music. Victor Herbert, with the early Pittsburgh Symphony, and Emil Oberhofer, with the Minneapolis Symphony, likewise contributed a great deal through their tours.

Rise of Permanent Orchestras

The major orchestras which began to appear in the last quarter of the nineteenth century had fairly full symphonic instrumentation. They were entirely profes-

sional, although the seasons were short and the men depended on other engagements for the greater part of their income. Gradually the orchestras grew in size and the season schedules became more and more ambitious. The New York Symphony, for example, during its first 5 seasons, 1878 to 1883, had 70 players and played a total of 64 public appearances—30 regular and 2 special concerts, each with a public rehearsal.⁶ The St. Louis Symphony began its concerts in 1881 as the St. Louis Musical Union with 54 players and gave 6 concerts a season for the first 9 years. The Cincinnati orchestra began in 1895 as a group of 48 giving 3 concerts. The personnel was increased to 70 for the second season but reduced to 60 during the third where it remained for several years. Beginning with the second year 10 pairs of concerts were given each season for about 15 years. The Pittsburgh Symphony began in 1895 with 20 concerts. By its third season the personnel numbered 60. In its fifth year the orchestra was increased to 70, while its season included 56 regular concerts in its home city and 27 out-of-town and special concerts. The Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra began in 1897 with about 40 members giving 6 concerts on a co-operative basis with a split of about 50 cents per concert for each member for the first few concerts.

Although attempts had been made to assure some degree of stability for the St. Louis orchestra by collecting a guarantee fund of \$8,000 at the time of its organiza-

⁶ The public rehearsals, which were given by a number of the orchestras in their early seasons, later became the second series of regular concerts given in pairs.

tion and the Cincinnati orchestra began with a fund of \$15,000, the Boston Symphony, founded in 1881, and the Chicago Symphony, established 10 years later, were the first examples of permanent orchestras launched on an ambitious scale with substantial financial guarantees and the men assured of regular season salaries. The Boston Symphony consisted originally of 67 members and gave 40 performances during its first season—20 concerts and 20 public rehearsals. This was made possible by Henry L. Higginson, who formulated the plan for the establishment of a fine orchestra with salaries sufficient to permit the men to give all of the time needed for rehearsals and concerts. He undertook to provide about \$50,000 annually to cover the estimated deficit of a budget totaling about \$115,000 per year. Mr. Higginson was thus the first “angel” or individual donor assuming the full responsibility for the development of a symphony orchestra.

The Chicago Symphony began under the conductorship of Theodore Thomas, with 86 men engaged for 28 weeks and giving 20 weekly pairs of concerts during the season at a total cost of \$129,000. Although the organization of the Chicago orchestra was due very largely to the enthusiasm and executive ability of one man, Charles Norman Fay, the venture was guaranteed at first by contributions of \$1,000 each pledged by 50 of Chicago’s prominent citizens. The Boston and Chicago orchestras thus typify the two kinds of plutocratic support—individual and group sponsorship—which characterized the development of the major orchestras. Individual sponsorship has occurred in only a few cases. In 1914 Harry

Harkness Flagler personally assumed the entire financial burden of the deficit of the Symphony Society of New York after the orchestra had experienced a long period of group support. In 1919 William Andrews Clark, Jr., undertook the sponsorship of the Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles with the intention of creating there as fine an orchestra as existed. The new organization replaced the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra which had done good work in the face of many difficulties since 1897.

The day of the individual sponsor willing and able to assume the whole responsibility for deficits ranging from about \$50,000 in Boston to \$200,000 a year in Los Angeles has passed. Although the Symphony Society of New York and the Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles continued under the support of Mr. Flagler and Mr. Clarke for a number of years, by 1918 the destinies of the Boston Symphony were taken over by a group of nine prominent Bostonians. In the meantime the other major orchestras were sponsored by limited groups of wealthy persons, among whom a few were conspicuously generous. The original Pittsburgh Orchestra was launched with a group of 25 public-spirited citizens guaranteeing the first 3 years, and later with a considerably larger number contributing until the orchestra was discontinued in 1910. The Cincinnati orchestra deficits were covered in the early years by a growing list of subscribers and it was not until 1928 that Mr. and Mrs. Charles Phelps Taft offered the million-dollar endowment for an Institute of Fine Arts, one of the principal purposes of which was to continue the orchestra, on con-

dition that \$2,500,000 be raised by public subscription. The Minneapolis orchestra was founded with 50 men guaranteeing \$30,000; the Philadelphia Orchestra with \$15,000 raised from 120 people. The Cleveland Orchestra likewise was sponsored by a group, the Musical Arts Association, but in 1928 received \$1,000,000 from John L. Severance to build a hall.⁷

With financial sponsorship assured, the principal orchestras were able to enlarge their personnel, engage the men for the season on weekly salaries, and establish regular series of concerts. By 1914 the 10 major symphony orchestras⁸ averaged 83 members and ranged from 70 in San Francisco to 90 in Chicago, 95 in the New York Symphony, and 97 in the Boston Symphony. The average concert season comprised 88 performances—50 in the home city, 38 on tour—though there was a wide variation among orchestras. San Francisco, for example, had 11 concerts and Los Angeles 16, while the Boston Symphony Orchestra gave 128 performances—48 regular concerts, 10 weeks of “pops,” 70 out-of-town engagements, and extra concerts. The Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra claimed the record for 1914, giving 36 concerts at home and 146 on tour. The New York Symphony gave 48 regular concerts, 50 additional local concerts, and 54 on tour, a total of 152 performances.

The regular season for these orchestras ranged from 21 weeks in St. Louis to 30 in Boston, with 10 additional

⁷ By the time the hall was built Mr. Severance's contribution had grown to over \$2,000,000.

⁸ Henry B. Baerman, “American Symphony Orchestras, 1913-1914 Season,” *Musical Courier*, February 10, 1915.

weeks for "pop" concerts, and averaged 26 weeks. In the year 1914 the 10 then major orchestras gave a total of 384 concerts on tour. These tours constituted an important source of income for 6 of the 10 orchestras, and in addition greatly increased interest in symphonic music and created support for the many local orchestras which sprang up later on.

As orchestras improved in technical skill and audiences grew in their knowledge and appreciation of symphonic music, the repertoire increased in variety and quality. In 1880 Beethoven ranked first and represented approximately one-quarter of the music played at symphony concerts, followed by Wagner, Berlioz, Schumann, Liszt, Mozart, Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Brahms, in order.⁹ The programs usually included, at most, one full symphony with several lighter compositions, frequently of a nature that would be considered too light even for present-day "popular" concerts. In 1920 Beethoven still ranked first but represented about one-eighth of the orchestral repertoire. In view of the increased number of concerts, however, his music was undoubtedly being performed more widely than ever before. His relative decline was due to the growing popularity of an increasing number of composers, among whom the most important were Tchaikowsky, Brahms, Franck, Dvořák, Rachmaninoff, Richard Strauss, Bach, Sibelius, Debussy, Elgar, Mahler, and Ravel. While several composers of the earlier period, notably Wagner and Mozart, still retained their popularity, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and

⁹ John H. Mueller and Kate Hevnor, *A Survey of Trends in Musical Taste*, *New York Times*, X, p. 7, February 27, 1938.

Schubert were played less frequently, and others, such as Raff and Spohr, had virtually disappeared. In addition to the widening repertoire, by 1920 full symphonic works had replaced to a considerable extent the lighter compositions found on the orchestra programs of earlier periods.

With larger and more permanent orchestras composed of professionals, longer seasons, more concerts, wider and better repertoires, and increased touring by a greater number of organizations, the cornerstone of American symphony orchestra development had been laid. As evidence of our symphonic maturity, in 1920 the first American symphony orchestra, the Symphony Society of New York, toured Europe with notable success. By this time there were also indications of the coming growth of secondary orchestras.

Major and Secondary Orchestras Since 1920

During the period from 1920 to the present time, 5 new major symphony orchestras were organized: the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington, D. C., the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, the Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra, and the Rochester Philharmonic and Civic Orchestra. Equally important, however, was the marked expansion in number and variety of services offered by both the old and the newly established major orchestras. Whereas in 1914 the 9 major orchestras, for which comparable data exist, were giving an average of 44 concerts in their home communities, by 1937 the average had in-

creased to 72. Although the orchestras were touring less than formerly, many of them had initiated series of concerts for children and had added or expanded their summer concert schedules. While the size of the orchestras had increased very little, higher average salaries for the players and larger total budgets went hand in hand with a continuous improvement in the quality of the orchestras. Although a few outstanding individual gifts were made to one or two orchestras, the financial support of the major symphony orchestras was drawn more and more from the community as a whole. Maintenance funds provided by thousands of small contributors to a considerable measure supplemented deficit financing by a single donor or small group.

The outstanding characteristic of the period since 1920, however, has been the establishment of 134 of the secondary orchestras in operation today. The 55 that emerged during the economic boom of the twenties are much less surprising than the 84 founded during and since the depression. Much of this development took place in smaller cities and towns which hitherto had not attempted to maintain symphony orchestras. Half of these orchestras are in communities with less than 300,000 population and about a fourth in communities of less than 100,000. They vary immensely in quality and scope of service, ranging from competent professional organizations, which may eventually advance to major rank, to small orchestras, predominantly amateur, with budgets of only a few hundred dollars a year.

The great development in audiences and in the number of symphony orchestras after 1920 was accompa-

nied by further changes in the character of the programs presented. Of the 50 most eminent composers today, Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, Tschaikowsky, and Wagner remain in a class by themselves. Beethoven's supremacy has never been seriously threatened, but, whereas his greatest rival in 1910 was Wagner, today it is Brahms who most nearly approaches him in popularity. Although Beethoven's music represented only 10 per cent of the total repertoire in 1936, it still equaled the combined volume of 10 of the most prolific of the late moderns—Carpenter, DeFalla, Miaskowski, Prokofieff, Rachmaninoff, Ravel, Respighi, Schoenberg, Scriabin, and Stravinsky. There has been a revival of interest in Bach's music which is played twice as much as two decades ago. Both Wagner and Tschaikowsky are being used less than formerly on the regular subscription programs, but they are rising in popularity in radio and popular concerts. In 1936 the early moderns, including Strauss, Sibelius, Debussy, Rimsky-Korsakoff, and Franck, represented 13 per cent of the repertoire. In this group Strauss has been the dominating figure since the war, but during the last decade the music of Sibelius has increased more rapidly in popularity than any other of these composers.¹⁰

The Pattern of American Symphony Growth

The basic pattern underlying the rise of the early symphony orchestras and many of the present major orchestras has been followed in the development of the sec-

¹⁰ John H. Mueller and Kate Hevnor, *op. cit.*

ondary symphonies. Frequently they have begun as co-operative ventures, as did the New York Philharmonic Orchestra in 1842. Secondary orchestras usually have started as amateur or mixed amateur-professional groups, such as those that evolved into or preceded many of the wholly professional major orchestras.

The development of the average secondary orchestra roughly follows a number of steps. The orchestra generally begins as a modest venture on the part of the players. After seemingly endless rehearsal, the first concert is given with many misgivings among the skilled musicians of the group. Admission charges are nominal in the great hope that there will be an audience. If the one or two concerts of the initial season have not been unsuccessful, a third concert may be added the following year. A more ambitious repertoire is prepared and several of the less prominent and less expensive concert artists may be engaged to appear with the orchestra. A few wealthy citizens become sufficiently interested to underwrite expenses and are promptly elected to the executive board. In many instances an orchestra association is formed, not entirely unlike the early "musical fund" societies.

As the orchestra improves in quality, it arouses increased community interest and pride and eventually becomes recognized as a civic institution which "should be supported," as should a hospital or educational institution. Receipts from ticket sales are supplemented with additional funds subscribed during a campaign to improve further the quality of the orchestra.

Increasing financial support brings growing professionalization. As soon as money is available, the pro-

fessional musicians demand remuneration. The union usually enters at this point and a formal agreement is made with the management governing wages and conditions of employment. Programs become increasingly ambitious and prominent guest artists are engaged. A number of more skilled players may be especially imported for concerts from near-by metropolitan centers to supplement the local orchestra personnel. A more proficient conductor may be engaged. Progress from this point on is toward a completely professional orchestra. Compensation usually remains on a rehearsal-and-concert basis, though amateurs are either absorbed into the professional ranks or are shunted off. Thereafter progress depends entirely upon the resources of the community, the competitive situation faced by the orchestra, and the personalities involved.

Behind the development of these orchestras, as in the early days of major orchestras, there usually stands a single, or, at most, a few individuals with enough love of music, ambition, and tenacity to carry on in the face of seemingly overwhelming odds. Often it is a local music teacher or conductor. Sometimes a few enthusiastic musicians build a group to the point where they can bring in a competent conductor to assist in their further progress. In other cases it may be a small group of music lovers who feel that the community's life is not complete without a symphony orchestra. The symphony orchestra in one eastern city has resulted from the enterprise of an accomplished violinist who chose to return to his home community rather

than follow the precarious existence of the concert field. After a period of teaching, he developed a group of players sufficiently skilled to form an orchestra. From a small ensemble there has grown a 70-piece semiprofessional orchestra giving 5 concerts a season with distinguished guest artists. In another city a business man, who had once been a professional musician and had played under Nikisch, provided the initial impetus and enlisted the assistance of a few wealthy music lovers. In one mid-western city the success of the symphony orchestra is due to a combination of the ability and imagination of a young American conductor and the business acumen and intelligence of a manager who gained his experience in the promotion of boxing and other sports events.

In addition to the symphony orchestras which have come into existence since the depression as a result of private initiative and support, the symphony orchestras established as a part of the Federal Music Project of the Works Progress Administration have been a significant development of the period. Since its inception in 1935, the project has organized 36 symphony orchestras, 28 of which were still in operation on April 1, 1939. These orchestras had given approximately 17,000 performances with a gross attendance of 12,500,000 persons. Not only have the orchestras of the Federal Music Project made symphony concerts available to large numbers of people, either free of charge or at a nominal price, but they have introduced symphony concerts to many communities and provided concerts for school systems which hitherto had not had such facilities. Not being wholly

dependent upon box-office support, they have been able to experiment with new and untried music, particularly that of American composers. In a few instances they have paved the way for their ultimate transition into permanent institutions supported by their communities.

TWO

FORCES UNDERLYING RECENT EXPANSION

THE growth of orchestras in recent years has been due principally to a number of fundamental social and economic forces which have increased the number of players or orchestral instruments and the public interested in symphony concerts. The most important of these have been the development of music education in the schools, the widespread use, for a time, of symphony orchestras in motion picture theaters, the progress in recording and reproducing music and the wide distribution of phonographs and records, and, finally, the evolution of radio broadcasting.

Music Education in the Schools

At the turn of the century the teaching of music was well established in grade and high schools throughout the country, though it was almost entirely limited to formalized sight singing. The emphasis upon the child as an individual, which was becoming felt in all education, brought an expanding program of music education

which included listening and music appreciation. This led to increased interest in the world's great instrumental music, the logical outgrowth of which was the extension of instruction in the playing of instruments.

Musical progress in the schools was further encouraged by the activities of the Music Educators National Conference. The growth of school orchestras, especially, has largely been the result of the work of its Committee on Instrumental Affairs, which, with the assistance of the National Bureau for the Advancement of Music, has fostered state and national school band and orchestra contests. Beginning in 1924 with about 30 bands in 5 states, the contests grew until by 1931 they included 1,100 bands and 700 orchestras in 43 states. The contests have helped to improve the standard of instrumentation, quality of performance, and the type of music played. In 1931 it was estimated that the orchestras from which the contestants were drawn numbered between 35,000 and 45,000, depending upon how small a group may be dignified by the name of orchestra. By 1939 it is possible that as many as 30,000 high-school and 1,000 college and university orchestras had reasonably full symphonic instrumentation.¹ The National High School Orchestra and Band Camp at Interlochen, Michigan, is an outgrowth of the contest movement. This camp, offering young students courses in playing all band and orchestral instruments under expert instruction, has been so successful that it has led to the organization of similar camps throughout the country.

The effect of school music education upon symphony

¹ *Supra*, p. 20.

orchestra development has been twofold. Hundreds of professional musicians have come up through high-school orchestras and summer camps and are now in regular symphony orchestras throughout the country. Probably no major symphony orchestra is without one or more graduates of the Interlochen Camp alone. Players developed in the high schools have been even more important in the hundreds of secondary orchestras. The local boards of education have often purchased oboes, bassoons, horns, and other instruments which were always eagerly used by those who wished to learn to play them, and in many cases the local high-school orchestra has been the impetus behind the formation of the community orchestra in which all musicians—young and old, professional and amateur—joined forces. Many of the more skilled high-school instrumentalists progressed enough to play professionally or to enter the teaching field. The really unusual talents often received local support for further study abroad or in one of the great music centers. Out of this process came a hitherto unequaled supply of symphony orchestra players. Equally important, however, was the unprecedented number of young people who had become acquainted with symphonic music under entertaining and stimulating circumstances and represented a great new audience to support the professional and semiprofessional symphony orchestras which were being formed.

Another factor which bore a part in the development of new orchestras was the greater availability of the higher stages of professional instruction. Although for many decades there had been excellent conservatories in

this country, the three great schools of music—The Eastman School of Music of the University of Rochester, The Curtis Institute of Music, and Juilliard School of Music—which were established during the period 1921-24, have been outstanding in preparing orchestral musicians for professional work. These schools have also offered training in conducting and have produced a number of promising young leaders who have been active in the organization of new orchestras. The instrumental departments of many other schools and conservatories expanded and improved, while colleges and universities likewise have augmented their music faculties and enlarged the scope of their activities in this field. The institutions of higher education thus supplemented the public schools in producing both players and enthusiastic and informed listeners for symphonic music.

The Motion Picture Theater Orchestra

Another effective agent in introducing symphonic music to a wider public than ever before was the motion picture theater orchestra. These orchestras became important as motion pictures improved and required better musical backgrounds and as the general program of entertainment offered by the theaters became more pretentious. The principal theaters in practically every city boasted an orchestra capable of playing *Zampa*, *William Tell*, *Poet and Peasant*, *Semiramis*, and other standard overtures, in addition to providing a musical background which ranged from *Hearts and Flowers* to excerpts from the Beethoven symphonies. Before the end of the World

War some of the more important of these orchestras, for example, the Strand, Capitol, Rivoli, and Rialto in New York, had evolved to full symphonic proportions and to a relatively high standard of performance. Only a few years later, the famous Roxy Theater Orchestra attained a high artistic level and its regular broadcasts of the world's finest symphonies, including such ambitious undertakings as Beethoven's Ninth, were among the popular radio programs. These motion picture theater orchestras were a valuable training ground for players and conductors, as well as for the audiences who were exposed to a great deal of good music in anything but a "high-brow" fashion and who learned to like it.

Recorded Music

The development of recorded music has been another important force in the growth of symphony orchestras and their audiences. The evolution of the talking machine into a fine musical instrument and the continuous improvement in the technique of recording and in the variety and quality of musical compositions available through this medium have brought good music within the reach of a vastly widened public.

For almost three decades recorded music has been closely associated with music appreciation work in the public schools. Not only has it provided a wide range of music which otherwise would not have been available, but the high quality of the promotional work of the Victor Company among the schools contributed to improving the techniques and broadening the scope of mu-

sic education. The Victor Talking Machine Company was quick to see the educational possibilities of their records and in 1911 it organized an Educational Department. In 1915 its educational program included a group of trained music teachers who visited schools, colleges, and universities, aided in setting up courses of study, and instructed teachers in the use of phonographs and records. During the second year of the plan, the 13 members of this group visited 1,283 cities and gave over 4,000 demonstrations. By the end of that year, nearly 15,000 Victor machines were being used in the schools of 4,318 cities. At that time the company was producing 211 special educational records, over half a million of which had been shipped to schools during the year, in addition to 1,500,000 records from the regular catalogue. The company likewise developed a fine series of textbooks for children of different ages and for use in high schools, colleges, and universities. By 1931 instruments had been placed in the schools of 16,000 cities and towns and in many rural schools. Since that time expansion has continued along these lines, though complete, separate statistics on schools are no longer available. The list of educational records now exceeds 500 and over half of the production of Red Seal records goes to schools, colleges, and universities.

Music appreciation courses in colleges have likewise been greatly aided by the use of phonographs and records. Special sets known as the Carnegie Sets and comprised of the books, records, and reproducing equipment necessary to a comprehensive course in music appreciation were designed by the Carnegie Corporation and

distributed, under certain conditions, to colleges and schools. The Carnegie College Set includes a fine phonograph, 900 records, 200 scores, and 150 books, while the Junior Set is somewhat more restricted in scope. Approximately 300 colleges, preparatory and high schools have been provided with these sets.

The influence of the phonograph in widening the general audience for classical music began to be felt even before the use of records in education became widespread. As early as 1903 the Victor Company published its first Red Seal catalogue and about that time other companies began to record and distribute some of the world's great music. Vocal music and solos predominated in these early recordings, and it was not until techniques had been improved that symphonic records made their appearance. The first full movement of a symphony was recorded in 1916. The development of the orthophonic phonograph in 1927 and of electrical recording in 1930 made possible vastly improved reproduction, resulting in a growing interest in recordings of fine music. Of approximately 10,000,000 records produced in 1938 by RCA Victor alone, it is estimated that about 3,000,000 were recordings of serious music. This number, however, represented about a half of the dollar volume of records produced. In recent years symphonic music has come to represent an increasingly large proportion of new recordings, until at the present time they account for about 50 per cent of the new Red Seal releases. Whole symphonies and large symphonic works are being recorded more than ever before, while a highly ingenious promotional campaign has been launched by the RCA Victor

Company to stimulate the purchase of permanent record libraries with the slogan "music you want when you want it." These "Masterpiece Sets" are now the backbone of the Red Seal business.

The Radio

The greatest agency available for the dissemination of fine music, however, is the radio. The first program of the newly formed National Broadcasting Company on November 15, 1926, included a performance by the New York Symphony Orchestra and the New York Oratorio Society, and symphonic music has been an important part of the program structures of the radio networks ever since their formation. Both the New York Philharmonic-Symphony and Boston Symphony orchestras began broadcasting with comparative regularity as early as 1927. The broadcasts of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Sunday afternoon concerts began in the fall of 1928 over the Columbia network. The radio, like recorded music, has been an important factor in the progress of music education in the schools. In 1928 Dr. Walter Damrosch initiated the NBC Music Appreciation Hour, the audience of which has grown from an estimated 1,500,000 school children during its first season to approximately 7,000,000 children in 70,000 schools where the program is part of the required curriculum at the present time.² The Damrosch Symphonic Hour, Columbia Symphony Hour, and the programs of the Roxy

² This does not include additional child listeners in schools where listening is not required.

Symphony Orchestra were among the early sustaining symphony programs to achieve widespread popularity with radio listeners, while commercially sponsored hours such as the Atwater Kent, the Minneapolis-Honeywell Program featuring the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and the Philco Hour—first using the Philco Symphony Orchestra and later the Philadelphia Orchestra—were also great favorites.

The use of symphony orchestras by radio advertisers declined following 1930 when broadcasting began to be employed less as a good-will medium and more as a direct sales stimulus. However, some of the outstanding sponsored hours, including the Philco, General Motors, and Ford programs, gained their greatest audiences after this time. The Ford Hour remains one of the most successful programs of serious music and its audience has been estimated at about 7,000,000 persons as of December, 1938. An especially significant series of commercial symphonic programs are the Standard Symphony and the Standard School Broadcasts which have been presented by the Standard Oil Company of California since 1927 over the NBC Pacific Coast Network. A morning program broadcast once a week to more than 4,000 schools prepares the students for the evening symphony radio concerts which feature all of the major symphony orchestras on the west coast. The school broadcasts also have thousands of adult listeners.

Symphonic music is on the whole a much more important factor in sustaining than in commercial programs, as indicated by the number of broadcasts and hours of symphonic music originated by the National

Broadcasting Company, 1935-38, shown in Table III. Sustaining programs carried from 77 to 87 per cent of the symphonic music broadcast over NBC during these four years, and, although the total number of symphonic hours was less, the symphonic hours on sustaining programs were more in 1938 than in 1936 and 1937. American radio programs of good music now have a wealth and variety equaled in no other country. During 1938, NBC alone presented, in addition to the Metropolitan Opera, over 40 symphony orchestras, 23 major and secondary American orchestras, 17 foreign symphony orchestras, the Radio City Music Hall Orchestra, the NBC Symphony, and several smaller company units. The Columbia Broadcasting System's schedule featured a smaller number of orchestras—12 American, 4 foreign, and several company units, but included important series such as the regular Sunday afternoon concerts of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, as well as its Saturday morning children's series. Nine orchestras were presented by the Mutual Broadcasting System in addition to its own staff symphony. Symphonic music has

TABLE III. NUMBER OF BROADCASTS AND HOURS OF SYMPHONIC MUSIC ORIGINATED BY THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY: 1935-38

Number of Broadcasts					Hours			
	Sustain- ing	Spon- sored	From Abroad	Total	Sustain- ing	Spon- sored	From Abroad	Total
1935 ...	264	52	27	325	198	40	14	252
1936 ...	291	94	35	420	241	68	17	326
1937 ...	281	110	27	418	239	78	16	333
1938 ...	287	67	25	379	253	41	12	306

gained so great a radio following that it has become practical for two New York stations, WQXR and WNYC, to depend largely on the broadcasting of symphony recordings.

One of the most interesting and important recent developments in the broadcasting of symphonic music was the creation of the NBC Symphony Orchestra. Though the National Broadcasting Company always had possessed a symphony orchestra, David Sarnoff, President of the Radio Corporation of America, determined in 1937 to form a special, full-sized organization comparable to the best orchestras. This organization was to serve a two-fold purpose: to supply the constantly growing demand for more symphonic broadcasts and to present symphony music under the most ideal radio broadcasting conditions. Accordingly, a 94-piece orchestra was assembled and the first concert given on November 13, 1937. Pierre Monteux, Artur Rodzinski, and Arturo Toscanini conducted the orchestra during its first season. In December, 1938, one hundred and ten stations were carrying the Toscanini-NBC Symphony broadcasts to an estimated audience of about four million.

Radio broadcasting has brought symphony orchestras to areas of the country and to social and economic groups hitherto deprived of this form of entertainment. Network broadcasting, especially, made it possible to convey the music of the great symphony orchestras to every section of the United States and to small towns and rural districts far beyond the practical limits of touring itineraries. Of the 27,000,000 families, or about 85 per cent of all American families, who own radios, the

majority, of course, fall in the group with incomes of less than \$2,000 a year. For many of these families—and 73 per cent in this income group own radios—phonograph records and concert tickets are out of reach and the radio remains the only means of hearing symphonic music. The ability of the radio to transcend distance and penetrate all strata of society, and thus to bring symphonic music to millions who otherwise would never hear it, is of immense value. But the stimulating effect of radio broadcasting in communities and income groups able to attend concerts and support orchestras has also been very great.

The radio for a time was feared by the phonograph and record industry and by concert and orchestra managers as a dangerous competitor. At present, however, opinion in these fields is virtually unanimous that, although some people no doubt buy fewer records and attend fewer concerts because they can hear good symphonic music over the radio, the net result of radio has been to awaken much new and active interest in symphonic music which leads to increased record buying and concert attendance. Owners of receiving sets who otherwise would never have heard their first concerts have been exposed to symphonic music over the air, have discovered its beauties, and have become interested in seeing and hearing an orchestra in a concert hall.

Not only has broadcasting added to the audiences who attend the home and tour concerts of the great orchestras and who support the many local orchestras that have been formed; it has also given these audiences a

more informed and discriminating taste. Radio programs themselves have steadily improved in quality. In the early days of broadcasting, the programs rarely included complete symphonies but tended toward the more familiar classics. Today the radio symphony programs are very similar to those of the average major symphony concerts. Conductors and orchestra managers attribute the raising of the standard of programs for tour concerts, which has been in progress for a number of years, very largely to the influence of the radio. Whereas the major orchestras, when playing concerts in the smaller cities, formerly presented programs including a few of the lighter works suitable for "pop" concerts, they now find that their audiences expect symphonic fare of as high quality as they hear in the broadcasts of the NBC Orchestra, the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, or of the other fine broadcasts. Furthermore, the standards of programming and performance for the lesser local orchestras have also been raised. The musicians themselves and the audiences loyally supporting these secondary orchestras are more fully aware than ever before of the goal toward which they are striving. Every orchestra, major or secondary, in a sense, at least, has become a competitor and is measured in terms of the best symphonic broadcasts.

Economic Factors

While music education provided the foundation for growing symphony concert audiences and for an increased supply of musicians, and the phonograph and

radio created widespread interest in fine music, several other forces in American life contributed to the ultimate growth of symphony orchestras and concert attendance in the United States. The period 1919-29 witnessed important increases in real purchasing power and in the amount of available leisure time. With these two developments came a rising tide of expenditures upon non-essentials and various forms of entertainment and recreation. Average weekly motion picture attendance increased from 40,000,000 in 1922 to 115,000,000 in 1930, and passenger automobile registrations rose two and a half times. Attendance at all kinds of sports events soared; the arts flourished as never before. Imports of art goods practically doubled in value from 1912 to 1929. The total investment in art museums grew from slightly over \$20,000,000 in 1920 to nearly \$52,000,000 in 1930, and enrollment in art schools reached unprecedented levels. Whereas population increased approximately 16 per cent during the decade 1920-30, the number of artists, sculptors, and art teachers grew 62 per cent, the number of authors 87 per cent, and the number of male musicians—especially important in the performing field as contrasted to teaching—gained 48 per cent.³ That symphony orchestras and concerts shared in this revolution in American consuming habits and general culture during the upswing of the economic cycle is reflected in

³ The total number of musicians listed in the "Occupational Statistics" report of the 1930 Census only rose 27 per cent from 1920 to 1930. The smaller increase in total musicians than in male musicians is due no doubt to the elimination of many music teachers, mostly women, by the temporary decline of the piano following the advent of radio.

the growth in the number of orchestras and concert attendance.

Paradoxically the depression which followed this wave of prosperity also contributed to the growth of symphony orchestras and to general interest in symphonic music. Talking pictures first came into prominence in 1928 and obsolescence struck the motion picture theater orchestra with devastating suddenness. Within the space of a few years, practically every important motion picture house in the country was wired for sound. When the depression closed approximately one-fifth of the theaters by 1932 and further curtailed theater revenues by reducing attendance and forcing a drop in admission prices, many of the remaining orchestras were disbanded. The legitimate theater fared similarly, for talking pictures and the depression combined to eliminate the road company, and, with it, the local theater musician's job. Hotels dispensed with salon and dinner orchestras and the employment of musicians in public places was generally curtailed. The displaced musicians were faced with a double problem: earning a livelihood and retaining their professional skill. Frequently they formed groups for the purpose of practicing together, and occasionally these groups developed into symphony orchestras. In many cities, therefore, the newly formed symphony orchestras provided the displaced theater musicians an opportunity, at least, to retain contact with their profession and thereby to earn a small part of their livelihood. Moreover, it was often the nucleus of professional musicians which enabled many

secondary orchestras to attain a musical status which merited community interest and support.

Types of Orchestras

The variety of orchestras which resulted from these forces is as amazing as the growth in their number. They embrace every kind of organization which can be fitted into the symphonic frame, and they differ widely in quality and scope of service. Only one line of demarcation is reasonably clear—that between the so-called “major” and “secondary” symphony orchestras.

The major orchestras, as classified in this study, are those with annual budgets in excess of \$100,000. There are 16 in this class with budgets ranging up to \$720,000 and averaging about \$300,000. They are found in the great metropolitan centers; only a few are located in cities of less than half a million, and no city with a metropolitan district of less than 400,000 successfully supports a major orchestra. The major orchestras average about 50 concerts a year, while the Boston Symphony Orchestra presents more than three times as many. The personnel of the major orchestras is engaged by the season, for a specified number of weeks—the average being 25—and at a minimum wage, the more proficient and valuable players receiving additional compensation. The minimum weekly pay for the average major orchestra musician is approximately \$60, or \$1,500 per season. The top salary for symphony musicians is possibly \$9,000 per season, but very few approach this figure.

Secondary orchestras vary greatly in quality and

scope. Some, in relatively large cities, are composed entirely or mainly of professional musicians paid by the concert and rehearsal, while the personnel of other orchestras is chiefly amateur. Their annual budgets range usually between \$8,000 and \$25,000, and almost none approach the \$100,000 lower limit of the major orchestra class. They give from 5 to 8 concerts a season with occasional children's, summer, or "pop" concerts. With good fortune and intelligent direction some of these may improve sufficiently to warrant fuller financial support and thus graduate into the major class. At the lower end of the scale are the marginal orchestras, almost entirely amateur, costing a few hundred dollars a year and giving 1 or 2 concerts. In some cases the orchestra represents an important asset to the music life of the community. In others its chief value lies in affording an opportunity for music lovers to play together. Sometimes the orchestra members pay dues for this privilege.

In addition, a number of the smaller orchestras perform more or less specialized services. The difficulty that women musicians usually experience in obtaining recognition equal to men has led to the formation of a few women's orchestras. The Woman's Symphony Orchestra of Chicago, which originated in this fashion, numbers 80 pieces and presents 4 concerts and occasional out-of-town engagements. The Woman's Symphony Orchestra of 120 players maintained by the City of Long Beach, California, claims to be the only municipally supported woman's symphony orchestra in the world. It gives 5 regular concerts a season, about the same number of

popular concerts, and an indeterminate number of out-of-town appearances.

It is often difficult to distinguish clearly orchestras which exist primarily for the pleasure derived from playing together from those which have attained a broader measure of community importance. The Chicago Business Men's Orchestra with 128 pieces is an amateur venture; yet its concerts usually draw 1,000 paid admissions and include compositions such as the Schumann A Minor Concerto and Beethoven's Seventh Symphony.

Among the specialized orchestras in cities supporting a major orchestra there is the training orchestra which exists principally to provide orchestral experience for young musicians. The Chicago Civic Orchestra is maintained under the auspices of the Chicago Symphony to train young players and to introduce unknown artists of talent to the public. Forty of its graduates are now in the Chicago Orchestra, 18 in Kansas City, and a total of about 250 in all the major orchestras. The National Orchestral Association of New York also provides comprehensive training and experience for young players. More than 55 former pupils are playing in 22 of the major and top-flight secondary orchestras, while over a hundred have found full or part-time work on the radio, in summer orchestras, or in the theater.

A number of communities have chosen to maintain small "classic orchestras" of between 35 and 45 members—similar to the orchestras of the early nineteenth century—rather than a full-sized symphony. The Wilkes-Barre-Scranton Sinfonetta is an attempt to cut the musical coat to fit the cloth, following an unsuccessful at-

tempt at a full-sized symphony. It presents a season of 5 concerts in Wilkes-Barre and Scranton, eighteen miles apart, and participates in the annual Wyoming Valley Bach Festival. The Charleston (S. C.) String Symphony of 30 players performs 4 concerts a year. Orchestras of this type render valuable service in presenting the works of early classicists such as Vivaldi, Purcell, Lully, Haydn, and Mozart, as well as the growing repertoire of contemporary compositions for small orchestras.

THREE

ORCHESTRA BUDGETS AND SOURCES OF INCOME

THE financial structure of symphony orchestras varies as greatly as do their types. Budgets range from a few hundred dollars for some of the very modest semiprofessional organizations to three-quarters of a million for one of the leading major symphonies. Orchestras that have reached major status—with a completely professional personnel paid by the week and presenting a regular season of concerts of eighteen or more weeks' duration—invariably have budgets exceeding \$100,000. Very few of the secondary orchestras even approach the lower limit of major orchestra budgets, while even the best secondary orchestras, with ambitions toward major status, rarely cost more than \$50,000 or \$60,000 a year.

Despite these variations in total expense, the financial organization of all symphony orchestras possesses two common characteristics: (1) the principal source of operating income is the sale of subscriptions to regular concerts; and (2) total operating income, including revenues from special series, tours, radio, and recording, as well as from the regular season concerts, falls short of

meeting total costs and must be supplemented by various forms of deficit financing. Even for the very best major orchestras, earning 85 per cent or more of their total costs, the deficit to be financed may range from \$70,000 to slightly over \$100,000. For the majority of major orchestras, which earn half or less of their budgets, the annual deficit may range from about \$60,000 to nearly \$200,000. Although the sums that must be raised by secondary orchestras are naturally smaller, the problem still remains the same. This, as mentioned previously, must be bridged by one or more of the following methods: endowment, gifts from a comparatively few wealthy individuals, public campaigns for maintenance funds, and subsidies or other payments from municipalities or other government units. These common characteristics have remained unchanged throughout the development of symphony orchestras in the United States.

Early Orchestra Costs and Income

As early as 1879, in its second season, the total budget of the New York Symphony Orchestra covering 9 regular concerts and 7 "public rehearsals" was \$17,613. This sum allowed but a few hundred dollars compensation for each member. Even on this limited scale of operation, with costs and scope roughly paralleling those of the more important secondary orchestras today, the small surplus of \$1,150 would have been impossible without \$4,361 from subscribers and members, only part of which seems to have been in the form of ticket subscrip-

tions. The per-concert cost for the orchestra's season was \$1,100.

The Boston Symphony Orchestra embarked upon its first season in 1881 with a budget of \$100,000, only half of which was expected to be derived from concert receipts. The 20 regular concerts and 20 "dress rehearsals" of the orchestra were given at a per-concert cost of \$2,500, a figure which, if allowance is made for rising price levels since then, corresponds roughly to the per-concert cost of major orchestras today. During its eighth season in 1899, the total budget of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra was slightly under \$125,000, of which nearly 85 per cent was accounted for by concert receipts.

The increasing cost of presenting a season of symphony concerts from 1900 to 1920 is illustrated by the experience of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.¹ Since the total budget is complicated during most of this period by the inclusion of the operating cost of Orchestra Hall and the income derived from the rental of the auditorium and office space, personnel costs are the most satisfactory index of expense trends. These rose from \$95,000 in 1899-1900 to \$124,000 in 1914-15, and by 1919-20 were about \$161,000, or 70 per cent above the 1899-1900 level. The concert income of the orchestra increased from \$103,000 to \$136,000 in the 1914-15 season and by 1919-20 was \$187,000, or 79 per cent higher than during the 1899-1900 season. Increases in both con-

¹ Detailed figures are available in the annual financial reports in *The Chicago Symphony Orchestra: Its Organization, Growth and Development* (1891-1924), Philo Adams Otis, Summy Company, 1924.

cert expense and income were due in part to expanded service. Concert receipts at the end of this period represented about 85 per cent of total expense, as they had two decades earlier.

Rising Budgets of Major Orchestras During the Twenties

The great increase in major orchestra expense during the twenties is exemplified by the Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago orchestras.² The average budget for these three orchestras in 1919-20 was \$346,000 and by the 1928-29 season had risen 61 per cent to a total of \$558,492. Increased costs were largely due to a great expansion in number of concerts, as evidenced by the fact that while total budgets were rising over 60 per cent, the average cost per concert was growing only 40 per cent—from \$3,978 during the 1919-20 season to \$5,604 in 1928-29.

Average personnel charges, including conductors and assisting artists,³ for the 3 orchestras rose from \$207,366 in 1919-20 to \$398,722 in 1928-29, a gain of 93 per cent, while the proportion of the total orchestra budget represented by them mounted from 59.9 per cent to 71.4 per

² These are the only three orchestras which found it practical to furnish financial data for the period 1919-20 to 1928-29. Furthermore, five of the major orchestras included in the analysis of later periods were not established or had not attained major status until near the close of this period.

³ These three items unfortunately must be grouped together, since assisting artists have been combined with the other two items in the operating statements of one orchestra and since orchestras will provide only confidential information on conductor expense.

cent. In spite of the large salaries paid to conductors by the close of this period, the rise in personnel expense was due mainly to the 90 per cent increase in compensation to orchestra players. Although the average salaries for conductors increased about 165 per cent during the period, the proportion of total budgets represented by them rose only from 12 to 14 per cent.

Cost of operation, other than personnel, increased but 15 per cent during the period and dropped from 40 per cent of total expense in 1919-20 to 29 per cent in 1928-29. The two largest items were hall rental and maintenance, and management and administration. The average hall rental and maintenance increased 75 per cent from \$21,631 to \$37,546, but remained 6.5 per cent of the total budget. Administrative expense rose 21 per cent from \$25,978 to \$31,665, but represented a smaller part of the total budget, 5.5 per cent as compared to 7.8 per cent in 1919-20. Other items of expense varied so greatly from orchestra to orchestra and from year to year that generalizations regarding them are impossible.

Total operating income increased 65 per cent, or from \$305,000 in 1919 to \$504,000 in 1928-29, while its ratio to total expense increased from 88 per cent to 90 per cent. This improvement was accomplished principally by an increase in the number and variety of services. While income from the regular concert series gained only 59 per cent, other operating income increased 74 per cent. In Boston and Philadelphia additional subscription series brought increased income, while children's and youth's concerts served a similar purpose in Chicago. Radio broadcasting was a minor source of

additional income for all 3 orchestras, while recording for phonograph records was a highly important source of revenue for only one of the group. Tour income increased 18 per cent but represented a considerably smaller proportion of total earned income in 1928-29 than in 1919-20, 28.3 per cent as compared to 19.3 per cent.

The 3 orchestras sought to bridge the gap between expense and receipts from operation in quite different ways. In Chicago, funds derived from the rental and operation of Orchestra Hall and the office space included in the building more than covered the \$31,484 loss from the operation of the orchestra resulting in a profit of \$22,914 in 1928-29. Orchestra expenses for the season were \$219,420 and operating income \$187,937.⁴ Philadelphia resorted to income from endowment, while Boston relied almost exclusively upon the contributions of a comparatively small number of wealthy people.

Major Orchestra Budgets Since 1928

Financial data for the majority of the major symphony orchestras are available for 1928-29 and subsequent years. Consequently more complete analysis is possible for the past decade than for earlier years. It has been necessary, however, to divide the major orchestras into three relatively distinct groups based, not upon artistic quality, but principally upon size of budget and scope of service. The New York Philharmonic, Philadelphia, and Boston symphony orchestras, located in the

⁴ Otis, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

first, third, and fifth largest metropolitan districts⁵ of the country, all with budgets of over \$600,000 and giving an average of 134 concerts annually, have been grouped together as Group I. A second group, more representative of the "average" major symphony orchestra, includes those with budgets between \$200,000 and \$600,000, presenting 70 concerts each season on the average, and located for the most part in cities with metropolitan districts of from 750,000 to 2,500,000 population. The Chicago,⁶ Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and San Francisco orchestras fall in Group II. Group III is comprised almost exclusively of newer major symphony orchestras formed after 1920. These have budgets of between \$100,000 and \$200,000, hold an average of 61 concerts each year, and are situated in metropolitan districts under 750,000 population. Because of their recent establishment they are in many ways unique as to financial characteristics and problems and therefore will be treated after the analyses of Groups I and II have been completed. Group III includes the National Symphony Orchestra of Washing-

⁵ Metropolitan districts are the highly populated areas contiguous to large cities. As defined by the Bureau of the Census they include all areas adjoining cities of 100,000 population or over, with a density of population of 150 or more persons per square mile. Since the preponderant growth of population in our larger cities since 1920 has been suburban, it is more logical to treat metropolitan districts as the market for symphony orchestra audiences than to confine it to the corporate limits.

⁶ In many respects, other than size of budget, the Chicago Symphony more closely resembles the orchestras in Group I. For example, it gives 100 concerts a season. However, from a budgetary viewpoint it falls in Group III.

TABLE IV. AVERAGE EXPENSE AND INCOME OF VARIOUS CLASSES OF SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS
(1937-38)

A—EXPENSE	MAJOR ORCHESTRAS ^a				SECONDARY ORCHESTRAS ^b							
	Group I Amount	%	Group II Amount	%	Group III Amount	%	Group IV Amount	%	Group V Amount	%	Group VI Amount	%
Orchestra Personnel, Including Conductor	\$443,759	67.0	\$219,532	71.5	\$107,209	65.9	\$ 9,466	59.0	\$2,118	50.3	\$190	40.0
Soloists and Assisting Groups	20,687	3.1	19,406	6.3	8,568	5.2	2,116	13.2	553	13.1	23	4.8
Opera .....	.....	..	3,715 ^f	1.2	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..
<i>Total Personnel Expense</i>	\$464,446	70.1	\$242,653	79.0	\$115,777	71.1	\$11,582	72.2	\$2,671	63.4	\$213	44.8
Hall Rental or Maintenance	\$8,488	8.8	12,335	4.1	7,338	4.5	1,320	8.2	429	10.2	85	17.8
Advertising and Publicity ..	13,839	2.1	5,966	1.9	5,047	3.1	698	4.3	182	4.3	22	4.7
Administration ^c	44,046	6.6	24,299	7.9	15,090	9.8	1,171	7.3	184	4.4	22	4.7
Programs	9,775	1.5	2,997	1.0	2,092	1.3	337	2.1	92	2.2	42	8.8
Music Purchases and Fees ..	5,955	.9	1,299	.4	1,877	1.2	231	1.5	152	3.6	48	10.1
Tours ^d	48,774	7.4	6,169	2.0	4,470	2.2	50	.3	168	4.0	.....	..
Miscellaneous	15,184	2.3	8,863	2.9	6,616	4.6	374	2.3	310	7.4	43	9.1
<i>Total Operating Expense</i>	\$660,507	99.7	\$304,581	99.2	\$159,207	97.8	\$15,763	98.2	\$4,188	99.5	\$475	100.0
Maintenance Fund												
Campaign Expense	1,666 ^e	.3	2,436 ^f	.8	3,574 ^e	2.2	290	1.8	20	.5	.....	..
<i>Total Expense</i>	\$662,173	100.0	\$307,017	100.0	\$162,781	100.0	\$16,053	100.0	\$4,208	100.0	\$475	100.0

B-INCOME

Season Subscriptions	\$238,122	37.1	\$ 87,795	29.4	\$ 35,597	21.6	\$ 7,128	42.2	\$2,391	57.0	\$245	38.8
Regular Concert: Single Ticket Sales	37,521	5.8	17,871	6.0	8,672	5.2	1,712	10.1	601	14.3	215	34.0
<i>Total Regular Concert Receipts</i>	<i>\$275,643</i>	<i>42.9</i>	<i>\$105,666</i>	<i>35.4</i>	<i>\$ 44,269</i>	<i>26.8</i>	<i>\$ 8,840</i>	<i>52.3</i>	<i>\$2,992</i>	<i>71.3</i>	<i>\$460</i>	<i>72.8</i>
Special Series	71,202	11.1	14,280	4.8	3,175	1.9	70	4	....	..	....	..
Children's Concerts .....	....	..	2,760	.9	380	.2	503	3.0	....	..	....	..
Youth Concerts	9,944	1.5	3,640	1.2	2,408	1.5	....	..	....	..	....	..
Tours (Gross)	128,987	20.1	16,978	5.7	11,728	7.1	....	..	....	..	....	..
Opera .....	....	..	1,433 ^g	.5	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..
<i>Total Income from Concert Admissions</i>	<i>\$485,776</i>	<i>75.6</i>	<i>\$144,760</i>	<i>48.5</i>	<i>\$ 61,960</i>	<i>37.5</i>	<i>\$ 9,413</i>	<i>55.7</i>	<i>\$2,992</i>	<i>71.3</i>	<i>\$460</i>	<i>72.8</i>
Program Advertising	9,017	1.4	3,429	1.1	2,328	1.4	463	2.7	86	2.0	....	..
Radio .....	....	..	7,077	2.4	1,300 ^g	.8	....	..	....	..	....	..
Recording	65,475	10.2	2,060	.7	830 ^g	.5	....	..	....	..	....	..
Miscellaneous .....	....	..	953	.3	2,955	1.8	33	.2	24	.6	25	4.0
<i>Total Operating Income</i>	<i>\$560,268</i>	<i>87.2</i>	<i>\$158,279</i>	<i>53.0</i>	<i>\$ 69,373</i>	<i>42.0</i>	<i>\$ 9,909</i>	<i>58.6</i>	<i>\$3,102</i>	<i>73.9</i>	<i>\$485</i>	<i>76.8</i>
Maintenance Fund Receipts	41,644	6.5	71,270	23.9	79,853	48.4	3,798	22.5	434	10.3	50	7.9
Other Gifts ^b	8,825 ^g	1.4	10,000 ^g	3.3	15,930	9.6	1,411	8.3	600	14.3	97	15.3
Endowment Income	31,879	4.9	59,077	19.8	....	..	....	..	62	1.5	....	..
Local, State, or National Subsidy .....	....	..	....	..	....	..	1,794	10.6	..	..	....	..

TABLE IV (Continued)

	MAJOR ORCHESTRAS				SECONDARY ORCHESTRAS			
	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V	Group VI		
	Amount	Amount	Amount	Amount	Amount	Amount	%	%
Total Nonoperating								
Income	\$ 82,348	12.8	\$ 140,347	47.0	\$ 95,783	58.0	\$ 7,003	41.4
								\$ 1,096
								26.1
								\$ 147
								23.2
Total Income	\$642,616	100.0	\$298,626	100.0	\$165,156	100.0	\$16,912	100.0
								\$4,198
								100.0
								\$632
								100.0
Surplus or Deficit	\$ 19,557		\$ 18,391		\$ 2,375		\$ 857	\$ 10
								\$ 157

^a All 3 Group I orchestras—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; 5 of the 8 Group II—Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Minneapolis; and all Group III—Indianapolis, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Rochester, and Washington, D. C., provided useable financial information.

^b Ten Group IV orchestras—Hartford, New Haven, Harrisburg, Reading, Wheeling, New Orleans, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Youngstown, and Buffalo; 18 Group V—Fall River, Melrose, Mass., Vermont Symphony, Providence, Albany, Schenectady, Utica, Charlotte, Louisville, Evansville, Ind., Tri-City Symphony, Davenport, Ia., Little Rock, Spokane, Oakland, Worcester, Altoona, and York, Pa.; and 6 Group VI—North Shore Symphony, Flushing, N. Y., Germantown, Pa., Roxborough, Pa., Crawfordsville, Ind., Walla Walla, Wash., and Terre Haute, Ind., provided information which could be used in financial analysis.

^c Including office rent.

^d Exclusive of player and conductor salaries, but including transportation and *per diem* maintenance allowance to men.

^e Only one orchestra reported expense for this item.

^f Only two orchestras reported expense for this item.

^g Only one orchestra reported income from this item.

^h Other than contributions to regular maintenance fund campaigns.

ton, D. C., and the Rochester, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, and Indianapolis symphony orchestras.

Financial data for Group I orchestras are complete for the period. For Group II orchestras, the final analysis for the 1937-38 season covers all except San Francisco,⁷ but the study of trends from 1928-29 has been limited to the data provided by the Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Minneapolis orchestras. Some of the figures for 1937-38 used in statements regarding trends over the last decade will not correspond exactly with those for 1937-38 in Table IV, owing to the necessity of averaging different groups of orchestras, but the differences are relatively small.

The average budget for Group I orchestras, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, in 1928-29 was \$718,398.⁸ Budgets for the 1932-33 season were 9 per cent, and those for 1936-37, 18 per cent below the 1928-29 figure. By 1937-38, however, they averaged \$662,173 and were still 8 per cent below 1928-29.

Budgets for Group II, including the majority of older major orchestras, averaged \$363,864 during the 1928-29 season. By 1932-33 the total costs of this group were 21 per cent below the 1928-29 level, but by 1936-37 had risen to within 16 per cent of the figure for that year

⁷ Information from San Francisco was delayed beyond the time limit set for the survey owing to the death of its manager, Mr. Peter Conley.

⁸ Group I orchestras must not be confused with the group analyzed for the 1919-20 to 1928-29 periods, since the New York Philharmonic-Symphony has replaced the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. This substitution accounts for the larger average budget for Group I orchestras in 1928-29 than that reported for the group composed of Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, discussed earlier in the chapter.

and remained comparatively unchanged during the succeeding year. It is evident that Group II orchestras were hit more severely by the depression and have recovered more slowly than Group I.

Since length of season and the number of concerts given exert an important influence upon total costs, the trend in expense per concert is especially significant. This has declined steadily for the 3 Group I orchestras until in 1937-38 it reached 93 per cent of the 1928-29 level. Per-concert costs for various seasons averaged as follows: 1928-29—\$5,282; 1932-33—\$5,039; 1936-37—\$4,975, and 1937-38—\$4,929. The number of concerts, however, varied from an average of 136 in 1928-29, 130 in 1932-33, to 119 in 1936-37, and rose again to 134 in 1937-38. Inasmuch as 1936-37 budgets for Group I orchestras were 82 per cent of 1928-29, the practically unchanged per-concert costs indicate that the economies of 1936-37 were made largely by curtailing the number of concerts.

The per-concert cost of the Group II symphony orchestras exhibited a different trend in that it declined by 1932-33 to 96 per cent of 1928-29, following which it rose to new high levels. Per-concert expense for this class was 9 per cent greater in 1937-38 than during the 1928-29 season. This was due principally to the fact that the average number of concerts given by these orchestras had decreased from 103 to 80 a season since 1928-29. The average cost per concert for Group II orchestras during various years was as follows: 1928-29—\$3,516; 1932-33—\$3,379; 1936-37—\$3,822, and 1937-38—\$3,851. Group II orchestra budget totals have risen approxi-

mately 7 per cent since 1932-33, while the cost per concert has increased nearly 14 per cent.

Trends of Specific Cost Items

Orchestra personnel expense, including compensation of conductors, which represents an average of slightly more than two-thirds of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia budgets, did not fall in 1932-33, but by 1936-37 it was 22 per cent less than in 1928-29. By the 1937-38 season personnel costs had risen to within 2 per cent of the 1928-29 level. These relatively unchanged costs, however, conceal an important shift in the relationship of conductor and player expense. The limited information available on conductors' salaries suggests an estimated decrease of nearly 25 per cent in their compensation since 1928-29 as against a probable gain of 10 per cent in payments to the rank and file of the orchestra.

As compared with the personnel costs of the 3 Group I orchestras, those of Group II have declined more drastically and have remained at lower levels. This item—accounting for nearly three-quarters of the total budgets in this group—averaged \$265,632 in 1928-29. During the 1936-37 season Group II orchestra personnel costs were but 21 per cent under the 1928-29 level and by 1937-38 were still 17 per cent below. Reduced total expenditures for players and conductors, however, were accompanied by curtailed concert schedules so that the average per-concert charge for personnel rose from \$2,579 during the 1928-29 season to \$2,773 in 1937-38.

The Boston, Philadelphia, and New York orchestras

reduced their payments for assisting artists and groups approximately 60 per cent from 1928-29 to 1932-33, although by 1937-38 they had returned to about 12 per cent below the predepression level. Group II orchestras, however, were more dependent upon the "pulling power" of soloists and therefore cut their assisting artist expenditures but 17 per cent in 1932-33 and again increased them until in 1937-38 they were slightly more than 10 per cent above the 1928-29 season.

Hall rental and maintenance costs of Group I orchestras have fallen off nearly 9 per cent since 1928-29, while those of the 8 Group II orchestras have decreased approximately 35 per cent. The latter decrease was due in part to curtailed concert schedules. Management and administrative expense have remained practically unchanged for both classes of orchestras, although during the 1932-33 season Group II orchestras temporarily reduced their administrative budgets 35 per cent. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia administrative costs averaged \$43,090 during the 1928-29 season and \$44,046 in 1937-38, while those for Group II orchestras averaged, roughly, \$25,000 for the same seasons.

Expenditures of the 3 Group I orchestras for promotional purposes increased steadily from an average of \$8,922 in 1928-29 to \$13,839 in 1937-38, a gain of 54 per cent. Group II orchestras, on the other hand, reduced their advertising and publicity budgets by more than 60 per cent from 1928-29 to 1932-33 but were only 4 per cent below 1928-29 during the 1937-38 season.

Group I orchestras reduced their program printing expense by nearly 40 per cent from over \$16,000 in

1928-29 to about \$10,000 in 1932-33, and it has remained at that level. In contrast to this trend, average program costs of Group II orchestras have risen slightly but remain less than \$3,000.

Expenditures for music purchases and fees were curtailed materially by both groups of orchestras during the depression. Those of Group I, however, had risen by 1937-38 to 14 per cent above the 1928-29 total, because of a tendency to feature a comparatively large proportion of new compositions and the higher performance fees charged. Group II orchestra music costs in 1937-38 remained 27 per cent below the 1928-29 figure.

Tour expenditures also decreased on the part of both orchestra groups in keeping with curtailed tour schedules. During the 1937-38 season the tour expense of Group I orchestras was about 70 per cent of the 1928-29 level, while that of Group II was about 55 per cent.

Trends in Income

The ups and downs of orchestra costs have been balanced by similar variations in income.⁹ The significant factor in income trends is the proportion of total expense met by operating and nonoperating income. Actual operating income of Group I orchestras, Boston,

⁹ Budgets have not always been balanced annually, but the deficits carried over from one year to the other have usually ranged from 1 to 3 per cent. In 1932-33, however, Group II orchestras carried over a 6 per cent deficit. In 1928-29, Group I orchestras actually showed a profit, if nonoperating income is included—\$718,396 total expense to \$742,576 total income. This was due almost entirely to extraordinary radio and recording contracts on the part of a single orchestra.

New York, and Philadelphia, in 1928-29 averaged \$634,-344; by 1932-33 it had dropped 14 per cent, and by 1936-37 about 17 per cent, while in 1937-38 it still remained 12 per cent under the 1928-29 level. In relation to total expense, operating income changed but little: 88 per cent in 1928-29, 83 per cent in 1932-33, 89 per cent in 1936-37, and 85 per cent in 1937-38.

The average operating income of Group II orchestras in 1928-29 was about one-third of Group I—\$189,181. These orchestras responded more quickly than the Group I orchestras to the depression and lost about 27 per cent of their operating revenues by 1932-33. By 1936-37 their operating income was 14 per cent below 1928-29 and remained at approximately that level during the following season. Group II orchestras have always earned a much smaller proportion of their total expense than Group I: 52 per cent in 1928-29, 45 per cent in 1932-33, and about 53 per cent in 1936-37 and 1937-38.

The average income from regular series for the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia group has declined largely because of a loss in subscriptions which the increase in single seat sales has not been able to offset. Subscription sales in 1936-37 were only about 75 per cent and in 1937-38 approximately 79 per cent of the 1928-29 figure. Single admissions, on the contrary, in 1936-37 were 60 per cent above and in 1937-38 remained 46 per cent above 1928-29. Group II orchestras, however, have improved their position in regard to subscriptions. Their average subscription income dropped only 8 per cent in 1932-33 and by 1937-38 was 5 per cent above 1928-29. Single seat sales, in contrast, shrank 29 per cent by

1932-33 and have remained about 27 per cent below the 1928-29 season since 1936-37.

Receipts from special concert series for Group I orchestras increased 15 per cent from 1928-29 to 1937-38. While these concerts remained a minor source of income for Group II orchestras, the absolute sums derived from them approximately tripled from 1928-29 to 1937-38. Children's and youth's concerts of Group I orchestras produced about half as much revenue in 1937-38 as in 1928-29, while Group II orchestra receipts from this source increased 13 per cent.

Gross income from tours has shown varying trends since 1928-29. Group I orchestra tour receipts dropped 14 per cent by 1932-33, remained 16 per cent under that figure in 1936-37, but during the 1937-38 season rose 1 per cent above the 1928-29 total. Income from tours of Group II orchestras declined 42 per cent from 1928-29 total by 1932-33, and nearly 50 per cent by 1936-37, and still showed a 45 per cent decline in 1937-38.

The analysis of radio broadcasting income and that received from the making of phonograph recordings presents special problems. Comparatively few orchestras derive income from these sources, although they are extremely important to some of them. Moreover, financial data in these fields are limited and highly confidential. Generalizations for separate groups are meaningless, but of all major orchestras in 1928-29 4 received a total of approximately \$200,000 from phonograph recordings, while 5 secured about \$125,000 from broadcasting. By 1932-33 recording receipts had declined nearly 80 per

cent, while radio income dropped off more than half. During the 1937-38 season, 6 major orchestras were deriving a total of about \$100,000 from recording, while another group of 6 were receiving a similar amount from broadcasting.

Revenue from program advertising, a minor source of operating income, has declined approximately one-half since 1928-29 in the case of both Group I and II orchestras.

Nonoperating income has declined in volume for both Group I and II orchestras since 1928-29, 24 per cent by the 1937-38 season in the case of the former, and 20 per cent for the latter group of orchestras. Again the great variation existing between individual orchestras complicates the task of analysis. Return from endowment for Group I orchestras ranges from about \$12,000 to over \$60,000, while 2 Group II orchestras derive an annual income of more than \$100,000 from this source. Consequently, trends as to average income from endowments are of no significance. Endowment income of one orchestra in Group I has remained comparatively unchanged during the last nine years, while the return to the other 2 has shrunk between 35 and 40 per cent. There was a marked increase in 1928-29 in endowment and the income therefrom among Group II orchestras, particularly for Cincinnati and Cleveland. From the incomplete data available, it seems reasonable to assume that the endowment return of Group II orchestras has decreased between 25 and 30 per cent since 1928-29.

Maintenance funds, subscribed periodically by the public, have been used to a varying degree in different

years by Group I and II orchestras so that an interpretation of general trends again is difficult. Average income from this source to Group I in 1937-38 was approximately two-thirds of the amount secured in 1928-29. Since 1928-29 the maintenance fund receipts of 1 Group II orchestra have dropped approximately 70 per cent, while the maintenance fund income of another orchestra, which formerly amounted to well over \$150,000, has been supplanted by endowment. Group II orchestras as a whole, however, are depending more on maintenance funds and less on endowment than in 1928-29.

Expense and Income Trends of the Newer Major Orchestras

Due to the fact that all of the group furnishing financial data have been established or attained major status since 1929, the budgets and operating income of the newer Group III orchestras—Indianapolis, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Rochester, and Washington—follow unique patterns. They therefore require separate analysis, beginning with the 1932-33 season.¹⁰ The average budgets of these orchestras have increased from \$112,653 during the 1932-33 season to \$162,781 in 1937-38, a gain of 50 per cent. Increasing budgets, however, have been accompanied by equally marked declines in cost per concert,

¹⁰ In order to simplify what was at best an extremely difficult and tedious task, the questionnaire sent to major orchestras limited its request for financial data to the seasons of 1928-29, 1932-33, 1936-37, 1937-38, and, where possible, 1919-20, and 1938-39.

due to an expansion in the average number of concerts from 25 to 61 per season. Whereas the average cost per concert for Group III orchestras in 1932-33 was \$3,188, by the 1937-38 season it had decreased to \$2,150, a drop of 33 per cent.

Personnel costs for this group of orchestras rose 36 per cent from 1932-33 to 1937-38. Expenditures for guest artists more than tripled during the period under analysis. Hall rental and maintenance costs rose approximately 33 per cent, while administrative budgets were increased approximately 30 per cent. Advertising and publicity expenditures were expanded 34 per cent, while payments for music fees and purchases rose nearly two and a third times.

While total income of Group III orchestras increased 59 per cent from 1932-33 to 1937-38, operating income rose 140 per cent. As a result the ratio of operating income to total expense improved from 28 to 44 per cent. Regular concert series income gained 87 per cent over the period due to a growth of 139 per cent in season subscription sales. Single seat admissions, on the other hand, dropped 8 per cent. Special concert income increased 50 per cent and receipts from children's and youth's concerts doubled from 1932-33 to 1937-38, but these items remained minor factors.

Several Group III orchestras have managed to supplement their other operating income to an important degree by tours. Average tour receipts increased from a few hundred dollars in 1932-33 to \$11,728 in 1937-38. Other sources of operating income were negligible.

Group III major orchestras receive no income from

endowment. Gifts from various sources have accounted for about 10 per cent of total income in recent years and average income from this source in 1937-38 has been about \$16,000. Average income from maintenance funds, representing approximately 48 per cent of total income in 1937-38, has increased from about \$50,000 to \$80,000 since the 1932-33 season.

Distribution of Expense and Income

Although all major orchestra budgets are increasing and those of Groups I and II are approaching the 1928-29 levels, the distribution of costs and income has shown no radical changes and the characteristic differences among these groups remain about the same. The only shift of importance is that the Group I and II orchestras are earning a slightly greater percentage of their cost from operations, while the newer Group III orchestras have greatly improved their operating ratios.

Personnel costs are, of course, the major expense of all budgets and range from 65.9 per cent for Group III to 71.5 per cent for Group II orchestras, as shown in Table IV. The cost of soloists and assisting groups ranges from 3.1 per cent for Group I to 6.7 per cent for Group II. The larger percentage of the total budget spent upon this item by Groups II and III indicates their greater reliance upon soloists as a means of securing audiences.

Group I orchestras spend relatively more for hall rental and maintenance than other major orchestras: 8.8 per cent as compared to 3.7 per cent for Group II, and 4.5 for Group III. The administrative costs for Group I

orchestras, on the other hand, are smaller proportionately than for the other two classes—6.6 per cent as compared to 7.9 per cent and 9.8 per cent. These proportions seem to indicate that an irreducible minimum of administrative ability and detail is required by any large orchestra, and that orchestra activities often can be expanded without a proportionate increase in administrative cost. There also seems to be a point past which advertising and promotion cannot be reduced, and these costs therefore represent a higher proportion of the smaller Group III budgets than for the other two classes.

The outstanding variation in the composition of income is the much smaller percentage received from operations by both Group II and III orchestras. While Boston, Philadelphia, and New York earned 87 per cent of their total income, the orchestras in the second and third groups earned only 53 per cent and 42 per cent, respectively. The smaller orchestras derived about the same proportion of their income from single seat sales to regular series concerts as did the largest ones, and slightly more from children's and youth's concerts, but their receipts from subscriptions, tours, and special series were relatively much lower.¹¹ Income from program advertising represents about the same proportion of the total for all classes. In radio broadcasting and recording, the top orchestras again have a great advantage over the others, receiving approximately 10 per cent of their total income from these sources as against about 3 per cent for the other two groups.

¹¹ This statement is equally true of gross and net returns from tours.

In view of their smaller operating income, Groups II and III must raise larger amounts, both in absolute and relative terms, from other sources. During the 1937-38 season, endowments provided 4.9 per cent of the income of Group I orchestras. The 19.8 per cent shown for Group II from this source is not really representative of the group since it is important for only 2 orchestras. Group III received no income from endowment. Maintenance fund receipts amounted to only 6.5 per cent of the income of Group I orchestras as compared with 23.9 per cent and 48.4 per cent for the second and third groups. In addition, orchestras in Groups II and III received 3.3 per cent and 9.6 per cent in gifts other than regular contributions to maintenance funds.

Secondary Orchestra Expense and Income

The financial aspects of secondary orchestras stand in considerable contrast to those of the major group. Again it has been necessary arbitrarily to classify orchestras into groups on the basis of size of budget and scope of service. Three classifications have been set up for purposes of financial analysis: Group IV orchestras with budgets ranging from \$10,000 to \$100,000 and giving 5 or more concerts a season; Group V orchestras, with budgets over \$1,000 and under \$10,000 annually and usually giving 2 or 3 concerts a season; and Group VI orchestras with budgets under \$1,000. Because of the difficulties of securing adequate data, analysis of these orchestras has further been confined to the 1937-38 season.

The average budget for Group IV orchestras, during

the year in question, amounted to \$16,053, while the average income was \$16,912. This margin, however, was the result of fortuitous circumstance on the part of a few orchestras. Orchestral personnel represented 59 per cent of total costs of orchestras of this class, a percentage slightly below that for major orchestras. Guest artist expense was a considerably greater proportion of total orchestra costs than in the case of any major orchestra and amounted to 13.2 per cent of Group IV orchestra budgets. Hall rental represented 8.8 per cent of the average orchestra budget, its proportion exceeding that found in all major orchestra budgets except Group I. Administration was allocated 7.3 per cent of the total budget but represented a negligible sum—\$1,171. No other single cost item was large enough to be significant.

The principal income of Group IV orchestras is derived from their regular concert series, which, on the average, account for 52.3 per cent of total income. Operating income, in turn, amounts to 55.7 per cent of total income. Season subscriptions during the 1937-38 season accounted for 42.2 per cent of the average Group IV orchestra's income, while single seat sales represented 10.1 per cent. Two minor sources of income were children's concerts, which returned an average of \$503, and program advertising, which yielded \$463, each item amounting to approximately 3 per cent of total income.

Receipts from maintenance fund campaigns accounted for 22.5 per cent of Group IV orchestra income, with gifts representing 8.3 per cent. A new item makes its appearance on the budgets of these orchestras, due

largely to the co-operation of several of them with units of the Federal Music Project: income from public subsidies, which during the season in question amounted to 10.6 per cent of Group IV orchestra income. This sum, however, was received by only a few orchestras.¹²

The average budget of Group V orchestras in 1937-38 was \$4,298. Orchestra personnel costs were 50.3 per cent of the total budget, while expenditures for assisting artists amounted to 13.1 per cent and averaged \$553 per orchestra. Hall rental represented 10.2 per cent of the budget and administrative expense and advertising, each, in the neighborhood of 4.5 per cent—\$184. The annual payment for music and performing fees for orchestras of this class amounted to \$152.

The regular concert series of Group V orchestras account for nearly their entire operating income and, during the 1937-38 season, amounted to 71.3 per cent of total receipts—57 per cent from season subscriptions, and 14.3 per cent from single ticket sales. Maintenance funds yielded 10.3 per cent of Group V orchestra income—\$434—while gifts amounted to 14.3 per cent.

The average budget for Group VI orchestras in 1937-38 was \$475 and the average income \$607. Orchestra personnel accounted for 40 per cent of total costs, guest artists for 4.8 per cent—\$23 on the average—hall rental for 17.8 per cent, music purchases for 10.1 per cent, and programs for 8.8 per cent. Other expenses

¹² Only one major orchestra, San Francisco, receives public subsidy of any size. Due to conditions noted earlier in the chapter, this orchestra was unable to provide data in time for its incorporation in the report. The relation of WPA to private orchestras is discussed in Chapter Eight.

were slight, advertising and management each averaging 4.7 per cent—\$22.

For Group VI orchestras 72.8 per cent of the total income is derived from regular concert series ticket sales, 38.8 per cent from subscriptions, and 34 per cent from single tickets. Nonoperating income consists principally of gifts—15.3 per cent.

The most striking difference between the operating records of the secondary orchestras and the major orchestras is the considerably higher proportion of earned income secured by the former. The ability of the smaller orchestras to meet so large a proportion of their expense from ticket sales is due mainly to the fact that their overhead is kept down by paying players on a concert-and-rehearsal basis and that many of their players are amateurs.

Summary of Budget and Income Trends

Much of the detailed information regarding costs and income of symphony orchestras is neither interesting nor especially necessary for the general reader. However, the principal problem facing orchestras is one of financial stability, and it therefore is necessary for the layman interested in their welfare to familiarize himself with at least the broad trends of symphony orchestra expense and receipts. The following summary of the material contained in this chapter has been prepared to assist the lay reader in this respect.

The average budget of the Boston Symphony, New York Philharmonic-Symphony, and Philadelphia orches-

tras—referred to in this study as Group I—in 1937-38 was about \$643,000; for Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and San Francisco—Group II—approximately \$300,000; and for the more recently established major orchestras—Indianapolis, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Rochester, and the National Symphony of Washington, D. C., comprising Group III—\$165,000. All of the last group were formed since 1925 and therefore have still to expand their scope of service to that of the older symphony orchestras.

The greatest expansion in the budgets of the older and better established symphony orchestras—those included in Groups I and II—occurred during the twenties. For instance, the average annual cost of the Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia orchestras rose 60 per cent from 1919-20 to 1928-29. The principal reason was increased compensation to orchestra personnel. Players' salaries nearly doubled over the period, while those of conductors increased approximately one and two-thirds times. Other operating costs, principally management and hall rental, rose but 15 per cent during the nine-year period.

Although part of the increased personnel costs was due to wage readjustments to meet the rising cost of living, a portion of it was the result of an expansion in the number and variety of concerts given by symphony orchestras. Thus, while total budgets of the Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia orchestras rose 60 per cent, their average cost per concert increased but 40 per cent.

Budgets for all except the most recently established major orchestras have been reduced since the 1928-29 season. In 1937-38 the average for Group I—the Boston,

New York, and Philadelphia orchestras—was 8 per cent below the 1928-29 level, and that of Group II—Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and San Francisco—16 per cent lower than before the depression. While the first group curtailed their personnel costs but 2 per cent, the orchestras in the second group cut theirs approximately 17 per cent. This latter reduction was accomplished partly by lowering the salaries of players and conductors and partly by curtailing the number of concerts. The slight reduction in average personnel costs of Group I was effected by a 25 per cent cut in conductors' salaries, part of which was offset by a 10 per cent increase in payments to orchestra players. The principal other economies effected were a decrease of approximately 10 per cent in guest artist fees, and a cut in hall rental of 10 per cent for Group I and of nearly one-third for Group II. Management expense, which had risen very little during the boom years, remained unchanged during the succeeding decade.

The budgets of Group III orchestras—Indianapolis, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Rochester, and the National Symphony of Washington, D. C., all of which have been established since 1925—rose approximately 50 per cent from 1932-33 to 1937-38. Increased costs were fairly general throughout the various budget items. The number and kinds of services provided by these orchestras expanded even more rapidly than did their budgets, as evidenced by the fact that, while total budgets rose by about one-half, the average cost per concert decreased by one-third.

At the present time compensation for players and con-

ductor represents from two-thirds to three-quarters of major symphony orchestra budgets, hall rental from 4 to 9 per cent, management from 7 to 10 per cent, and advertising and publicity from 2 to 3 per cent.¹⁸

The twenties seem to have been comparatively prosperous years for symphony orchestras. While the budgets of the Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia orchestras were rising 60 per cent from 1919-20 to 1928-29, their operating income was increasing 65 per cent. However, operating income in 1928-29 was still insufficient to meet total costs, and an average of 10 per cent of the orchestra budget had to be raised from other sources.

In 1937-38 the average operating income of Group I—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—was 12 per cent below the 1928-29 level, and that of Group II—Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and San Francisco—was 14 per cent lower. On the other hand, the average operating income of the younger orchestras of Group III—Indianapolis, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Rochester, and Washington—increased nearly one and a half times from 1932-33 to 1937-38. During the 1937-38 season, the 3 orchestras in Group I earned about 85 per cent of their total cost out of operating income, the 8 orchestras in Group II, 53 per cent, and the 5 younger major orchestras in Group III, 44 per cent.

Boston, New York, and Philadelphia as a group experienced a slight decline from the 1928-29 level in receipts from the regular concert series, due, principally, to a dropping off in season subscriptions. However, in-

¹⁸ See Table IV, p. 72.

come from special concerts rose 15 per cent and income from tours 1 per cent. Children's and youth concert revenues decreased by about one-half. Regular concert series income of the 8 other older major orchestras—Group II—in 1937-38 also were slightly below the pre-depression level, although season subscription sales had increased 5 per cent. Special concerts were not an important source of income for these orchestras, while their tour business was 45 per cent below 1928-29. Receipts from children's and youth concerts increased 13 per cent. Increases were general among the newer Group III orchestras, with an 87 per cent gain in regular series income. Phonograph recording and radio income have varied so greatly from orchestra to orchestra that generalization as to trends is well-nigh impossible, although in 1937-38 the 3 orchestras in Group I secured an average of 10 per cent of their operating income from these two sources.

Nonoperating income of Group I and II major orchestras was from one-fifth to one-quarter below the 1928-29 level in 1937-38. Endowment income in 1937-38 represented 5 per cent of the average total income of the 3 Group I orchestras, and 20 per cent of that of the 8 Group II orchestras. Receipts from maintenance fund campaigns accounted for about 7 per cent of the income of Group I, 24 per cent of Group II, and 48 per cent of the younger Group III total income. Income from endowment was not an important source of revenue for the last-mentioned group.

It was impossible to obtain information on trends for the secondary orchestras—professional and semiprofes-

sional organizations with budgets under \$100,000 annually—so that analysis was confined to the 1937-38 season. Budgets for the more ambitious secondary orchestras—Group IV in Table IV—mainly professional organizations, averaged about \$15,000 and ranged as high as \$60,000. Personnel costs accounted for more than 60 per cent of total costs, guest artists for 13 per cent, hall rental for 9 per cent, and management 7 per cent. Over 55 per cent of total income was derived from the regular concert series, while practically all of the remainder was secured from maintenance fund campaigns or special gifts.

Budgets of the smaller, largely semiprofessional orchestras—Group V—averaged between \$4,000 and \$5,000, with personnel accounting for about one-half of total costs, guest artists for 13 per cent, hall rental for 10 per cent, and management for 4 per cent. Managements of secondary orchestras are almost entirely amateur. Budgets of the small, primarily amateur orchestras in Group VI averaged \$475, 40 per cent of which represented personnel expense, principally payment to the conductor. About three-quarters of the income of both Group V and VI orchestras is derived from the receipts from the regular concert series, the remainder coming principally from gifts.

FOUR

PERSONNEL PROBLEMS

PERSONNEL costs are the major item of expense for all symphony orchestras, except those depending largely or entirely on amateur musicians. The salaries of the players and conductors represent from two-thirds to about three-quarters of the total budgets of major orchestras and from one-half to three-fifths of the budgets of those secondary orchestras which are professional to an appreciable extent. For orchestras which are primarily amateur, salaries, principally for conductors, are approximately two-fifths of total costs. If fees to soloists and assisting groups are included, total personnel costs may amount to as much as four-fifths of major orchestra budgets and to nearly three-quarters of the professional and semiprofessional secondary orchestra budgets.

Conductor and player costs for Group I major orchestras practically doubled from 1919-20 to 1928-29, and rose from 50 per cent of the total budget to 63 per cent. Since then, however, the relative importance of these costs has remained about the same, except during the worst years of the depression. Whereas cuts were made in other costs which could be reduced more easily

than salaries, player and conductor costs rose by 1932-33 for Group I orchestras from 63 to 67 per cent of total expense and for Group II orchestras from 73 to 77 per cent. For the newer major orchestras of Group III, established mainly since 1929, player and conductor costs have declined from 74 per cent of total costs in 1932-33 to 67 per cent in 1937-38. This was due partly to the fact that these orchestras felt obliged to increase their expenditures for soloists and assisting groups, programs, music fees, and tours.

Player and Conductor Costs of Major Orchestras

The question of conductors' salaries has attracted particular attention in all discussions of orchestra finance, owing chiefly to the very large sums received by a few conductors. Although strictly comparable data are not available, and considerable reliance must be placed upon estimates, it appears that in 1937-38 the average annual cost of conductors, including assistant and guest conductors, for the regular season was in the neighborhood of \$60,000 for Boston, New York, and Philadelphia comprising Group I major orchestras; \$30,000 in Group II; and \$18,000 in the comparatively young orchestras of Group III. It is probable that the greatest increases in conductors' salaries took place from 1919-20 to 1928-29 when the average more than doubled and increased from 7 per cent to 10 per cent of total budgets. During 1932-33 further increases in conductor remuneration, coupled with somewhat reduced total budgets, raised conductor costs of the 3 Group I orchestras to about 18

per cent of the total expense. In recent years conductors have represented about 10 per cent of the total expense for all classes of major orchestras. With few exceptions there has been little deviation from the average. In 1937-38 the ratio of conductor to total cost for one major symphony was as low as 6 per cent and for another as high as 14 per cent.

The possibility of reducing deficits by curtailing conductors' salaries has often been discussed. Even if conductors' salaries could be reduced, it is obvious that deficits would be lowered only slightly, except in Group I where salaries are large and deficits relatively small. For example, a 50 per cent curtailment in Group II conductors' salaries would result in only a 10 per cent reduction in the average deficit. But even if savings could be effected in this manner the question would still remain as to whether reductions in conductor costs might not also involve loss of public support and diminished ticket sales. The personality and ability of the conductor, for better or for worse, carry much more weight with the average American concert-goer than does the quality of the orchestra or the nature of the program. Although this point of view has been exaggerated, it is founded on the undeniable variations in ability among conductors. An inspiring leader evokes the best efforts of his men and achieves superior results, just as does an exceptional executive in business. For this reason there is no way of measuring the suitability of conductors' salaries in terms of statistics. They are and must continue to be determined by competition in the open market. This question, to-

gether with that of the use of guest artists and soloists, is an inseparable part of the larger problem of "merchandising" symphony orchestras—adapting symphony concerts to the desires of the actual and potential market and promoting their wider acceptance.

Size of Orchestra

In the final analysis the cost of the symphony orchestra is the cost of the men and is determined by three factors: the size of the orchestra, the length of the season, and the rates of compensation. The number of men in the orchestra has been a minor factor in the changes in personnel costs since 1919-20. The Boston, New York, and Philadelphia orchestras—Group I—averaged 97 players in 1919-20, increased to 108 in 1928-29, and dropped to 102 by 1938-39. The average number of players in Group II¹ orchestras rose from 84 in 1919-20 to 91 in 1928-29, and has remained at 86 since 1932-33. Group III² orchestras have remained unchanged since 1932-33, when they averaged 84 players. At the present time, therefore, as shown in Table V, the major orchestras range in membership from 84 to 102, and average 88 members. The difference in size between Group II and III orchestras and Group I is due principally to the reduced string and woodwind sections.

¹ Group II is comprised of the Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and San Francisco orchestras.

² Group III includes Indianapolis, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Rochester, and Washington, all of them formed comparatively recently.

TABLE V. AVERAGE NUMBER OF PLAYERS IN ORCHESTRAS OF DIFFERENT GROUPS: 1938-39

<i>Orchestra Classification</i>	<i>Section of Orchestra</i>									
	<i>Total</i>		<i>Strings</i>		<i>Wood- winds</i>		<i>Brasses</i>		<i>Percus- sion</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Major Orchestras</i>										
Group I	102	100.0	66	64.7	17	16.7	14	13.7	5	4.9
Group II	86	100.0	58	67.4	12	14.0	12	14.0	4	4.6
Group III	84	100.0	55	65.4	12	14.3	12	14.3	5	6.0
<i>Average for Ma- jor Orchestras</i>	88	100.0	59	67.0	13	14.8	12	13.6	4	4.5
<i>Secondary Orchestras</i>										
Group IV	76	100.0	50	65.8	11	14.5	11	14.5	4	5.2
Group V	68	100.0	44	64.7	11	16.2	10	14.7	3	4.4
Group VI	55	100.0	34	61.8	9	16.4	9	16.4	3	5.4
<i>Average for Sec- ondary Or- chestras</i>	67	100.0	43	64.2	10	14.9	11	16.4	3	4.5
<i>Average for all Orchestras</i>	73	100.0	47	65.0	11	15.0	11	15.0	4	5.0

Changes in the size of the orchestra have been somewhat more important in Group II than in the 3 Group I orchestras. Several of the Group II orchestras attempted to cut costs during the depression, partly by reducing their personnel, principally in the string sections. The most drastic cut in major orchestra personnel was in Cincinnati where the orchestra was reduced from 105 players in 1928-29 to 89 in 1932-33, and to 78 by 1936-37. This left the orchestra smaller by 17 strings, 4 wood-

winds, 3 brasses, and 3 percussion. Several Group II orchestras which retrenched during the depression have now either regained their former size or slightly increased it, while Cincinnati plans to return to a 90 piece orchestra.

Length of Regular Season

The length of the regular concert season likewise has been a minor factor in changing total personnel costs. The season for the 3 Group I orchestras has remained comparatively unchanged from 1919-20 to date, having averaged 29 weeks in 1919-20 and 30 weeks in 1938-39. While the regular symphony season in Boston is 30 weeks, the 10 weeks of "pop" concerts immediately following it have been so well established that in a sense Boston may be said to have a full season of 40 weeks. Group II orchestras consistently have had shorter seasons than those of Group I and furthermore attempted to curtail expenses by shortening the season during the depression. Although the average Group II orchestra season increased from 26 weeks in 1919-20 to 28 weeks in 1928-29, it was subsequently cut to 25 weeks where it has remained since 1936-37. Group III orchestra seasons average 22 weeks.

Major Orchestra Personnel Salaries

Compensation in all major orchestras, with one exception, is based upon an agreement negotiated with the

local musicians' union,³ specifying a minimum weekly wage for players, a guaranteed number of weeks' employment, and the "number of services"⁴ per week or season which the orchestra may demand of the player. Obviously the minimum salary is determined in part by the other two factors.

The greatest rise in orchestra personnel salaries occurred during the period from 1919-20 to 1928-29. The minimum weekly salary for Group I orchestra players rose from an average of \$53 to \$82, or 55 per cent. In view of the variation in length of season, the minimum season salary rose 60 per cent, from \$1,700 to \$2,678. An even more rapid rise in the compensation of players paid above the minimum increased the average season salary for the orchestra as a whole from \$1,877 to \$3,335, or about 75 per cent. In Group II the weekly minimum rate increased during the same period from an average of \$48 to \$60, or 25 per cent, while the season minimum

³ The American Federation of Musicians, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is a national craft union with local semi-autonomous units. These units have authority over local rates of pay, conditions of employment, and the importation of other union players from locals outside their jurisdiction. The Federation of Musicians embraces professional musicians of all kinds, and symphony players represent but a very small proportion of its total membership. The Boston Symphony Orchestra is the only nonunion major organization. The arrangement with the union usually involves a trade agreement with the employing organization which specifies minimum rates and general conditions of employment and, in addition, may stipulate the total number of players to be hired, as well as the number that may be imported. Individual contracts based upon this trade agreement are entered into by the employing organization and the individual players.

⁴ A service is the basic unit of the union trade agreement and player contracts. It represents a unit of specified number of hours applicable to either concerts or rehearsals.

rose 27 per cent, from \$1,248 to \$1,584. Data on average salaries for Group II orchestras are not available. These rises in rates of compensation were even more important factors in increasing orchestra budgets than were the additions made to orchestra personnel and the slightly expanded seasons.

During the period from 1928-29 to 1937-38 the minimum rate has not changed materially for Group I and II orchestras. Although the average weekly minimum dropped from \$82 to \$76 by 1932-33 for Group I orchestras, by 1936-37 it had regained the 1928-29 level. The minimum season salary dropped from \$2,678 in 1928-29 to \$2,463 by 1932-33, but by 1937-38 had reached \$2,708, a net gain of 1 per cent for the decade. In contrast, the Group II weekly minimum remained unchanged at about \$60 in all but two orchestras, although the drop in these two brought down the average for the group 10 per cent by 1936-37. By 1937-38 the average weekly minimum for the group had risen to \$62, or 3 per cent above the 1928-29 level. Owing partly to shortened seasons, the minimum season salary dropped considerably so that by 1936-37 it was 16 per cent below 1928-29. By 1937-38 it had risen to 1 per cent above that year's figure—\$1,608 as compared to \$1,584—owing to the rise in the weekly minimum.

Because of their comparatively recent establishment, it is impossible to give trends for Group III orchestras. At least 3 of these orchestras in 1932-33 were paying their men on a per-concert-and-rehearsal basis similar to that used by the majority of secondary orchestras. By 1937-38 all of the group were established on a weekly minimum

salary basis with an average of \$51 per week and \$1,156 per season.

Since only about half ⁵ of the orchestra members are paid at the minimum rate, average salaries have been considerably higher. Despite the small fluctuations in the minimum weekly salary rates, the average season salaries have varied considerably and have been a major factor responsible for changing personnel costs and total budgets. Although weekly minimum rates for Group I orchestras—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—had dropped 10 per cent between 1928-29 and 1932-33, the average salary decreased only 4 per cent. By 1937-38 the average season salary for this group had risen to \$3,615—9 per cent above the 1928-29 level, in contrast to a 2 per cent rise in the minimum.

While average salaries for Group I players went off less than did the minimum, in Group II they declined more sharply than minimum rates. By 1936-37 the average season salary for Group II orchestras was 23 per cent below the 1928-29 figure as compared to a 16 per cent drop in the minimum season compensation. Although minimum season salaries in 1937-38 were 1 per cent above, the average season salary of \$2,038 was still 16 per cent below 1928-29. Group III average salaries in 1937-38 were \$1,171, only \$15 above the season's minimum.

The season salaries of principal players, in turn, are considerably higher than those for the rank and file of the orchestra. Although records are insufficient to estab-

⁵ The proportion of players employed at the minimum rate varies considerably from orchestra to orchestra.

lish trends, it is probable that at the present time salaries of principal players for Group I orchestras average about \$5,000 and may go as high as \$7,500, or \$9,000 in a few cases. For Group II the average for principal players is probably slightly above \$3,300 and for the more recently established Group III in the neighborhood of \$2,100. There are about 16 or 17 of these players in major orchestras of all classes.

While generalization is difficult because of varying practices in different orchestras, it appears that Group I orchestras with relatively high minimum and average salaries attempted to retrench during the depression by reducing minimum rates and average compensation rather than by cutting the size of the orchestra or the length of the season. Group II orchestras, on the other hand, generally maintained their minimum rates, but reduced salaries above the minimum. In addition they curtailed the size of their orchestras and slightly shortened their seasons.

Supplementary Income for Major Orchestra Players

Because of the relatively low minimum and average salaries for regular seasons, the players in major orchestras have been forced to seek various ways to supplement their income. The principal means now open to them are teaching, playing in other orchestras, and playing in supplementary summer or other seasons. These supplementary seasons may be presented by the orchestra as an entity or by another enterprise employing part or all of the orchestra.

Teaching is always a possibility for the better players, although school work and group instruction have minimized these opportunities as compared to twenty or thirty years ago. While only scanty indications are available regarding the extent of teaching by orchestra players, a study of several representative Group II and III orchestras revealed that about 62 per cent of the members do some teaching.⁶ It is quite probable that teaching opportunities are greater for players in the 3 Group I orchestras. Playing in other orchestras or ensembles is a much less fruitful source of supplementary income. Theaters, motion picture houses, hotels, and restaurants no longer afford as many opportunities for employment as they did fifteen years ago. A few major orchestra players, especially in the larger centers, have occasional engagements with secondary orchestras. Only about 10 per cent of Group II and III orchestra members providing information on these points derived income from these sources. Radio work for symphony orchestra players is extremely limited—12 per cent of the group sampled being employed in this fashion. Work in motion picture studios has been important only in two cities—Los Angeles and New York. These opportunities, as well as many others, have been restricted by the contracts between the players and the orchestra, which often prohibit acceptance of other musical engagements that might lessen the efficiency or that, because of their nature, might not be in keeping with the dignity of the orchestra. In some cases

⁶ Based on questionnaires filled out by the majority of the members of the Cleveland, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and Indianapolis orchestras.

union regulations have closed avenues of supplementary employment to members under contract to symphony orchestras. Union restrictions have applied particularly to players who have been imported by the orchestra from other cities and who have not been accepted as full members⁷ of the local union. These musicians consequently have been barred from securing any other musical employment within the jurisdiction of the local union.

The principal source of supplementary income for symphony players throughout the country has been various types of summer concerts. In some cases these have been given by the orchestra as a unit, either under its own or separate management, while in other instances supplementary engagements are offered by enterprises employing a part of the orchestra personnel. Summer seasons are given by the orchestra in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, Minneapolis, and Washington. The Cleveland summer "pop" concerts employ part of the orchestra as do the Cincinnati "Zoo" opera and concerts, the St. Louis summer light opera, the Ravinia Park and Grant Park concerts in Chicago. The St. Louis and Cincinnati summer opera seasons provide income for about one-half and two-thirds of the orchestras, respectively. A seven-week opera season, which tra-

⁷ When permitted by the local union, members of out-of-town locals may play in the orchestra on a temporary basis; but their employment may be restricted to work in the symphony until they are accepted as full members in the local union. At the 1939 convention of the American Federation of Musicians a rule was passed to the effect that a transferred musician, after being in town three years, must be accepted by that local union.

ditionally precedes the opening of the symphony season, engages a part of the San Francisco orchestra. Most of these seasons range from six to eight weeks' duration.

In most cases the minimum and average salaries for the summer series are lower than for the regular season. Assuming that the summer minimum weekly salary for Group I orchestras may be about \$60, the supplementary income for a six-week engagement may range from \$360 to a top of \$750 and possibly average \$400. This would bring the yearly salary for the minimum players to about \$3,000, the principals to \$6,000, and the average in the neighborhood of \$4,000. The very best principal players may thus bring their annual income up to \$8,000 or more, but very few of this rank are engaged for the summer seasons.⁸

In Group II orchestras the summer minimum may be \$40 or \$50 a week, adding from \$240 to \$300 to the incomes of those receiving the basic figure. The yearly salary for minimum players therefore may slightly exceed \$1,800, reach \$3,800 for the principals, and average \$2,400. It should be remembered that for several of these Group II orchestras this form of supplementary income is available to only part of the orchestra. For others, furthermore, the summer concerts are on a co-operative basis, the men playing without guarantee and sharing the net proceeds after expenses. Under these conditions the players sometimes have received as little as \$18 or \$22 a week.

⁸ While some orchestras retain their full size for summer concerts their regular first players are often replaced by others at lower salary and a larger proportion of the orchestra is paid at the minimum rate than during the winter season.

Only one Group III orchestra, the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington, has been able to establish a season of summer concerts.

Most of the managers and many board members recognize the necessity of developing summer seasons on a more stable and satisfactory basis both to improve the income of the players and to promote wider public interest in the orchestra.

Who Are the Orchestra Players?

On the whole average salaries of orchestra players have tended to rise except for the setback during the depression. This has been due partly to the necessity of keeping pace with rising price levels and also partly to the widening market and increased competitive bidding for competent symphony musicians. The organization of each new major orchestra has afforded a number of opportunities for players imported from established orchestras to strengthen the new ensemble. With these changes in opportunities and compensation has come a change in the type of person entering the profession.

While no special studies are available, it is recognized that the level of general education, as well as musical training, is considerably higher than two or three decades ago and that the proportion of native-born musicians is much greater. It has been estimated by persons acquainted with the field that about 70 per cent of major orchestra personnel twenty years ago were foreign-born, whereas today these represent only 20 to 30 per cent of the total. This generalization is confirmed by a survey

of the personnel of 4 representative orchestras in Groups II and III,⁹ which indicated that about 70 per cent of the members are native born and the average age is thirty-five. Foreign-born players in one orchestra, however, constituted more than half of the total number, a ratio which is probably correlated with the relatively high average age of forty-eight years. One of the newer orchestras, on the other hand, with a large proportion of young musicians and an average age of twenty-seven, is about 90 per cent American born.

About 55 per cent of these orchestra musicians studied in American conservatories and 85 per cent with American coaches and teachers. This indicates that a large proportion, even of the foreign-born, have received at least a part of their musical education in this country. About 20 per cent of the group have studied with foreign teachers, but these include both foreigners and Americans who have studied abroad. While schools of national prominence such as Curtis, Juilliard, and Eastman¹⁰ have contributed comparatively large numbers of players, 50 other American conservatories are represented in the orchestras which returned personnel questionnaires.

While the cost of training for professional musicians cannot be determined as easily as for doctors and lawyers, estimates by the musicians themselves indicate that the expense of their purely professional training is about \$3,000. The average cost of their instruments, on the

⁹ See footnote 6, p. 106.

¹⁰ The Civic Orchestra of Chicago and the National Orchestra Association, both training orchestras, have been important sources of orchestra personnel. See Chapter Two, p. 63.

basis of the players' own estimates, was approximately \$1,500. Practically all of the orchestra musicians have had a high-school education and 40 per cent have attended colleges and universities. From available data it appears that more than 40 per cent of the players had no professional symphony experience prior to engagement by their present orchestra. About 30 per cent had played in other major orchestras, 20 per cent in secondary orchestras, 12 per cent in foreign symphonies, 8 per cent in foreign opera, and an equal proportion in American opera. It is obvious that there has been an overlapping of experience and, for example, the 28 per cent who played in other major orchestras probably include some of those with secondary orchestra experience.

The Problem of Cost Reduction

Since only few economies could be effected in conductor costs, and since the principal cost is personnel, proposals for cutting orchestra budgets center largely about reductions in the size of the orchestra or readjustments in compensation. Reduction in the number of players has not been found an important or satisfactory means of economy. With the repertoire demanded by audiences of today, a definite limit is placed beyond which the woodwind, brass, and percussion sections cannot be curtailed. As a result of this the string sections cannot be greatly diminished without impairing the balance of the orchestra. Furthermore, if the auditorium is large, a full complement is necessary to produce a satisfactory quality and volume of tone. Moreover, the fact

that audiences everywhere are listening to radio broadcasts and tour concerts of other orchestras, and making comparisons with the local organization, creates a demand for large orchestras. Where the experiment of seriously curtailing the size of the orchestra has been tried, it has proven unsuccessful and the board of directors have discovered that it is difficult to finance the smaller sum required by an obviously impaired orchestra. For these reasons, the younger orchestras of Group III are tending toward the same size orchestras as Groups I and II.

From the point of view of budget balancing, attempts to readjust the bases of compensation are directed toward lowering the production cost per concert. This involves either reducing the minimum and average salary scale, or increasing the number of concerts available for sale without a proportionate increase in personnel costs. Since the present minimum and average season salaries are already relatively low for most major orchestras, few if any economies can be effected here. The only alternative, therefore, is to sell a larger number of concerts *at a reduced cost per concert*. This can only be effected by modifying the union agreement.

Union agreements at the present time are designed to maintain the maximum rate per service. The union agreement fixes the cost per service by specifying the number of services that can be demanded either for each week or for the season as a whole. A few agreements go so far as to specify the ratio of concerts to rehearsals within a given week. This policy is in keeping with traditional union economic theory, usually emphasizing

rates of pay per unit more than total income, and is given force by the perfectly justifiable fear of the unions that reductions in the weekly minimum will not be accompanied by guarantee of reasonably stable lengthened employment and consequent improved total income. The effect of the union agreement thus is to make impossible an increased number of concerts without a proportionate increase in costs.¹¹

Other than actual reduction in player salaries, which in view of present levels is impractical, the only modifications of the union agreement that would make possible an increasing number of concerts at a decreased unit cost are: (1) to increase the number of available services while retaining the present minimum rate of pay and length of season, and (2) to decrease the weekly minimum salary without curtailing the number of services per week, but to lengthen the season to a point where players will receive a higher annual wage. Since, in most cases, the number of concerts and rehearsals per week could not be appreciably increased without undue physical demands on the personnel and consequent impairment of the quality of the performance, the first alternative is impractical.

The practicability of the second alternative depends upon the possibility of selling the increased number of concerts. Answer to this question depends upon how

¹¹ It has been suggested by some that the ratio of rehearsals to concerts, whether or not specified in the union agreement, be changed to result in more income-producing services. It has been fairly well demonstrated, however, that the quality of performance cannot be maintained to a point assuring public support if the number of rehearsals per concert is reduced past a certain point.

fully orchestras have been merchandised in the past and the extent to which the potential concert audience has been reached. Undoubtedly a number of orchestras have a long way to go in selling out their present seasons before they could consider lengthening schedules. This holds true whether or not the orchestra now has both summer and winter seasons. In a good many cases this would require considerable experimentation and additional financing during the experimental period. The experience of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in lengthening its season and in adapting the type of concerts to the varying demands of the public is outstanding. The superb "merchandising" of the regular symphony season, the ten weeks of "Pop" concerts, the Esplanade and the Berkshire series over a period of time have enabled this organization to pay the highest average annual wage with a relatively low weekly average for a long season, to produce its concerts at a lower than average cost per concert, and to earn a higher proportion of its budget than any other major orchestra. But it should be noted that this accomplishment has been largely facilitated by the absence in Boston of the inflexibility imposed by the usual union agreement.

Orchestras that have summer concerts are doing much the same thing if the summer and regular seasons are viewed together as a unit. Maintaining a high minimum and average for the regular season, and lower rates for the summer, may net the players about the same income as a longer season with a minimum falling somewhere between the winter and summer rates. However, one of the factors contributing to the maintenance of these two

rates has been the relative uncertainty of the summer season which can be more easily curtailed or omitted. Separate management of the summer season adds to this uncertainty. Another factor impeding the amalgamation of the two seasons has been the fear on the part of the management and boards of directors that negotiations for one longer inclusive season would not induce the union to lower the weekly rate sufficiently to result in as low net total costs for the two seasons as under existing conditions. A number of managers and board members, however, are of the opinion that it would be advantageous ultimately to integrate the summer and regular schedules under a single management as a means of assuring greater economic stability for the men and the orchestra. Summer concerts are still largely in an experimental stage and, until a stable demand for them has been demonstrated, the integration of the summer and regular seasons is probably out of the question.

Assisting Artists and Groups

Another expense closely related to orchestra personnel cost is that of soloists and assisting groups. The use of guest artists varies among different orchestras. In Group I these account for 3.1 per cent of the total expense, in Group II, 6.3 per cent, and in Group III, 5.2 per cent. Assisting artists account for 13 per cent of the budget of Group IV and V secondary orchestras, and 4.8 per cent of Group VI costs. While in a sense the engagement of artists is a personnel problem and managers and boards of directors of practically all orchestras

have pondered the extent to which economies can be effected in this item, the problem is primarily one of merchandising and cannot be considered separate from the response of ticket receipts to the conductor, the quality of the orchestra, and the whole program policy.¹² The question is whether or not the guest artist will increase receipts sufficiently to pay the cost of his appearance. Single seat sales are not an adequate criterion of the financial value of soloists and assisting groups. Judged on this basis alone very few artists would pay for themselves. The extent to which the inclusion of soloists in the regular season schedule increases subscription sales—the really important factor—is impossible to measure. The Boston Symphony, it should be noted, with a relatively large number of concerts, high annual salaries, and a better than average operating ratio, spends the smallest proportion of its budget on soloists.

Secondary Orchestras

Personnel expense is likewise the most important single budget item for secondary orchestras in Groups IV, V, and VI, even for those predominantly amateur in Group VI. A few of the ambitious secondary orchestras have personnel costs as high as \$50,000 and the composition of their budgets closely resembles that of major orchestras in Group III. For Group IV as a whole, however, personnel costs average about \$10,000, or 60 per cent of the budget, while for the largely amateur Group VI or-

¹² Since this question is so closely related to programming, it is discussed principally in Chapter Six.

chestras, these costs may be no more than \$200 and account for about 40 per cent of the total expense.

Conductor costs for all secondary orchestras probably represent a considerably higher proportion of the total budget than for the majors. In fairly well-established Group IV orchestras the conductors may receive \$5,000 to \$6,000, but in some cases they may be paid no more than a few hundred dollars a concert. For Groups V and VI with a greater number of amateurs, the conductor's remuneration may be the most important cost item. Although it is true that the conductor represents a large part of the total cost of secondary orchestras, his function is largely different from that of major orchestra conductors. While he is not primarily a box-office attraction as a star performer, the secondary orchestra conductor is usually the principal salesman and public relations force for the organization. Since in most cases the management is amateur, a great deal of the business detail falls upon the conductor. He must be a teacher as well as a conductor. One of our secondary orchestra conductors describes the usual role as follows:

"He was willing to start with any musical material at hand and to teach, inspire and cajole in order to raise the standards of his orchestra until it was worthy of some form of organized public support. In the majority of cases, he was not only the conductor, but the business manager and advertising agent as well. He probably wrote the publicity and got out copy for the program and program notes. He frequently bought the music and guaranteed the rent of the hall and for his vision and unselfish service he has had his sole reward in the satisfaction of knowing that he was in a sense a prophet and bringer of light."

Generally speaking, the conductors of these secondary orchestras have begun as instrumentalists, usually on orchestral instruments, or have been employed in some other musical capacity in the local high-school or college music department. If he has been an instrumentalist, he has acquired his ideas and ambitions regarding conducting while playing under other leaders. If he has come from the teaching field, he has secured experience with the local student orchestras or ensembles. Often these conductors have had the advantages of instruction in one of the large music schools and have made a study of conducting.

Secondary orchestras are generally smaller than the Group III major orchestras and vary in size from an average of 55 for Group VI to 76 in Group IV.¹⁸ The woodwind, brass, and percussion sections for Groups IV and V are about the same size as those of Group II and III major orchestras, but the string section is considerably smaller. Group VI orchestras are smaller throughout, though again the greatest reduction occurs in the string section.

The proportion of amateur musicians increases as the budget decreases. Group IV orchestras are approximately one-quarter amateur, Group V, two-thirds, and Group VI, more than three-quarters. An important factor among secondary orchestras is the proportion of women players who find here their principal opportunity for acquiring symphony experience. Women are beginning to appear, however, in the major orchestras to a greater extent than formerly.

¹⁸ See Table V, p. 100.

Secondary orchestra members are almost entirely American born and their average age is thirty-two years.¹⁴ Virtually all of them have had American teachers and coaches, while 30 per cent have attended American conservatories. Only 5 per cent have studied abroad; 12 per cent have received part of their musical education in high schools, and about 10 per cent in colleges. Almost all have had high-school education and 44 per cent have attended colleges and universities. Very few have had previous experience in other symphony orchestras, except those imported occasionally from major orchestras in near-by cities to bolster the professional nucleus. The professional musicians in the average secondary orchestra are usually local music teachers. Approximately 30 per cent of the orchestra personnel play in other secondary orchestras, usually those in near-by cities. The amateur members of the average secondary orchestra are drawn principally from the clerical, professional, and business groups in the community.

Most of the Group IV secondary orchestras have agreements with the local union, of which all the professionals are members. In some cases the amateur members also pay union dues. The union is usually co-operative and seldom raises objections to amateurs and professionals playing together. Often the professionals alone are paid, although occasionally the amateurs and professionals are on the same basis. Payment is generally at a specified rate per concert and rehearsal, ranging from \$10 to \$20 for each concert, including the 5 to 7 cus-

¹⁴ Based on questionnaires returned by the majority of members of the orchestras of Grand Rapids, Mich., Harrisburg and York, Pa.

tomary rehearsals. Arrangements for compensation in Group V orchestras are about the same as for Group IV, except that the number of rehearsals is about double. For Group VI, primarily amateur, a few players receive payment for concerts, but almost none for rehearsals.

FIVE

ORCHESTRA MANAGEMENT AND OPERATION

THE organization and management of symphony orchestras obviously are designed for two purposes: to produce and sell concerts, and to raise funds to bridge the gap between operating income and expense. Although there is considerable variation among groups of orchestras, and even among those in any given group, symphony orchestra organizations are fashioned from four basic elements: (1) a board in which rests the policy-making authority; (2) a sustaining organization, which, though it may elect the board and hold voting control, serves mainly as a device for widening financial support; (3) one or more auxiliary groups with no voting power which constitute additional money-raising machinery; and (4) a management which conducts the routine business of putting on a season of concerts and co-ordinates the activities of the various parts of the organization.

Basic Organization—Major Orchestras

The organization of major symphony orchestras follows two general lines: a small, self-contained, self-per-

petuating group who are the principal source of financial support, and a larger, more democratically constituted body with potentialities for enlisting more widespread community assistance.

The small, self-contained organization has taken several forms among the major orchestras. The affairs of the Boston Symphony Orchestra are administered by a self-perpetuating board of 11 members. In Philadelphia, a board of 21 members performs a similar function. In some cities the board is elected or appointed by a sustaining organization with limited membership. The Chicago Orchestra Board of 15 is elected by the Orchestra Association, a self-perpetuating body of 40 life members. The Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra has a board of 10 appointed by the president of the Cincinnati Institute of Fine Arts from among the 19 trustees of the Institute. The Institute itself is a nonprofit corporation organized under a broad charter to further the musical and artistic education and culture of the people of Cincinnati. At present it owns and operates the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, and the Taft Museum. In addition, it gives the Sachs Scholarship in fine arts, contributes to the Cincinnati Art Museum, and occasionally underwrites civic entertainments. In Cleveland a somewhat broader base is found in a board of 40 elected from the membership of the Musical Arts Association, a self-perpetuating group of 147. The Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles is supported by the Southern California Symphony Society, the entire voting power of which is vested in a self-perpetuating board of 51 trustee members.

The supporting group of a number of orchestras has an even broader base. In Minneapolis, Detroit, and Indianapolis the boards are elected by a sustaining organization, membership and voting power in which is confined to individuals contributing \$100 or more to the annual maintenance fund. In Minneapolis a board of 50 is elected from a membership of 300; in Detroit 36 board members are chosen by an association of 400; in Indianapolis—which became a major orchestra in 1937—there is a board of 11 elected by the 89 members of the Indiana State Symphony Society.

Provision has been made in a number of instances for still broader control. The 20 members of the board of Washington's National Symphony Orchestra are elected by the 950 members of the sustaining organization. Membership in the National Symphony Orchestra Association is open to anyone contributing \$25 or more to the annual maintenance fund campaign. In addition to the privilege of voting, members each year are the guests at a concert given especially for them. Membership in the Pittsburgh Symphony Society also is open to all contributors of \$25 or more to the orchestra's financial campaign, and members elect the society's board of 70. The New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society Board of 32 is elected by the 650 who become members by the payment of \$10 or more annually. The Rochester Civic Music Association, which in addition to maintaining the Rochester Civic and Philharmonic Orchestras engages in a variety of musical and cultural activities, is comprised of all persons contributing \$5 or more to its annual financial campaign. The association has a membership of over 3,000 and these

elect a board of 84. The Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra Association has the largest board among the major orchestras—158 members—elected by all those contributing to the orchestra's financial campaign. These numbered approximately 2,800 for the 1938-39 season.

With the exception of Boston, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Detroit, the first two of which have small boards, the governing activity of the orchestra boards is concentrated in an executive committee. Most of these are small, ranging from 5 to 12 members, although the executive committee of the Cleveland board has 17 members, and that of Kansas City 30. Six of the orchestras also have small finance or budget committees, but, other than these, committees are seldom used as an adjunct to board activity.

The administrative staff of the average major symphony orchestra numbers from 5 to 10 members, including part-time employees, although the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra staff is comprised of 16 persons. The usual administrative staff consists of a manager, an assistant or business manager, 2 or 3 clerical or secretarial workers, and a publicity man. One-half of the orchestras employ their publicity man on a part-time basis. In addition, the Cincinnati, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, and Indianapolis orchestras have a full-time paid secretary or director for women's activities. The Rochester Civic Music Association and the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington have a special executive in charge of money-raising routine, Washington on a part-time basis and Rochester full-time.

Major Orchestra Auxiliary Organizations

Symphony orchestras are making increasing use of various types of auxiliary organizations to assist in ticket selling, deficit financing, and promotional work. These organizations have no direct voice in the affairs of the board or principal sustaining group. They usually have no membership dues and rely heavily upon volunteers.

The most important form of auxiliary organization is the women's committee. These are maintained by virtually all of the major orchestras and range from 150 members in the case of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society to more than 2,000 in Cincinnati. There is usually no membership fee, although in some cases nominal dues are charged to defray clerical expense. An exception is found in the Women's Committee of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra. This committee is comprised of two classes of members: donors, contributing from \$25 to \$100, and contributing members, giving over \$100 annually. Members of the Women's Committee contributing more than \$1,000 annually are eligible for election to the Women's Auxiliary Board, whose function is to administer the work of the committee and to consult with the Philharmonic-Symphony Society Board.

Although the chief activity of women's committees is the sale of subscription tickets, they also play an important part in fund raising. During the 1939 financial campaign in Philadelphia, the Women's Committee raised about 30 per cent of the \$100,000 total. In addition to

its ticket-selling campaign, the Indianapolis Women's Committee assumes responsibility for 12½ per cent of the orchestra's maintenance fund, while the Detroit Women's Committee also pledges and raises a certain amount of the orchestra fund.

A recent development among women's committees has been the organization of units in outlying communities, principally for promotion and ticket selling. The fifteen subcommittees organized by the Indianapolis Women's Committee in communities within a seventy-five-mile radius of the city are an illustration of this practice.

Other activities of women's committees include general promotion, sponsorship of children's or youth's concerts, and, recently, the formation of adult music appreciation groups. Among the general promotional work carried on by women's committees are social functions designed to build an esprit de corps among various groups of women in the community, sending speakers to clubs and civic groups, and enlisting the interest and co-operation of merchants in placing displays in their stores, and disseminating folders and leaflets. In St. Louis, the efforts of the women's committees are concentrated to a considerable extent upon the promotion of educational concerts in the schools, and a junior division of the committee raises money for the distribution of tickets to young students. The Young People's Symphony Orchestra Association of Minneapolis, a women's group, confines its efforts to sponsoring the young people's concerts of the orchestra. The Cleveland Women's Committee has been particularly successful in organizing adult music appreciation study groups which, in the spring of

1939, totaled approximately six hundred members. In connection with this work, the committee maintains a circulating library of records and scores which are available to members at a charge of three cents a day.

The Cincinnati Woman's Committee

The most comprehensive organization and program at present is found in the Woman's Committee of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, the work of which largely has been developed and organized by Mrs. Miles Benham, director of women's activities. The entire organization of the committee is pointed toward the increased sale of season subscriptions for the regular concerts and for the young people's series, with the emphasis upon new business rather than renewals. The committee is under the direct supervision of the manager of the orchestra. The president is appointed by the orchestra board to serve for a term of one year and the director of women's activities is a regular paid member of the symphony staff. General supervisory authority is vested in an Executive Committee composed of the president and 5 vice-presidents, a Policies Committee made up of past presidents, and a Ticket Campaign Advisory Board.

The membership of the Cincinnati Woman's Committee is drawn from every social, civic, and educational group in the city. No dues are charged, since previous experience proved that requiring them was unsatisfactory in so far as members felt the payment of dues relieved them of the responsibility of working. Each member now merely pledges a sincere desire to promote the

symphony welfare and to sell at least two new subscriptions.

The Woman's Committee is organized in 30 specialized departments arranged in 5 groups, each under the supervision of a vice-president. Departments, in turn, are each broken down into approximately 10 separate committees of 10 members with functions which in no way duplicate or overlap. Among the more important departments are the following: The Rotogravure Committee, to have charge of the publication and sell advertising in the special symphony rotogravure section of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*; the Business Relations Committee, to serve as contact with retail stores for arranging displays, fashion shows, literature distribution, and organizing employees' sales committees; the Radio Committee, to arrange for daily, weekly, and semiweekly programs on all local radio stations during campaign periods; Out-of-Town Committee, to arouse interest in cities adjacent to Cincinnati; Music Club Department, to form committees in all music clubs which, in turn, will canvass their respective memberships for season subscriptions; the Professional Department, to interest professional men in the purchase of subscriptions; and the Young People's Concerts Committee, to promote the sale of season tickets to young people's concerts in all schools and junior organizations.¹

A Junior Woman's Department is organized along similar lines and parallels but does not duplicate the efforts of the Senior Woman's Committee. It enlists the

¹ A complete outline of the Cincinnati Woman's Committee organization is to be found in Appendix A.

services of scores of young women from high-school age to thirty who can be utilized more effectively as a separate group. The Co-ed Committee, for example, popularizes symphony concerts among students in colleges in and near Cincinnati. The High School Committee performs a similar function in the schools of greater Cincinnati.

The effectiveness of the Cincinnati organization is indicated by an increase in the number of season ticket subscriptions of 150 per cent in three years, present subscribers numbering approximately 5,500. It should be kept in mind, however, that as complex an organization as the Cincinnati Woman's Committee can be maintained successfully only with adequate professional direction. Moreover, the exact form of organization used by an orchestra must be determined largely by local conditions. The Cincinnati committee, therefore, should be considered more as an indication of how comprehensive may be the activities of a woman's committee where conditions are favorable rather than as a pattern to be followed literally in other communities.

"Friends of the Orchestra"

A form of auxiliary organization first used in Boston and known as "Friends of the Orchestra" has gained popularity in recent years. Its activities are confined to fund raising, and membership is open to all those who contribute to the maintenance of the orchestra. "Friends of the Orchestra" do not have any direct control of the orchestra's affairs, although effort is made to give them the

feeling that they are a vital part of its support. In Boston, for instance, an annual meeting of the organization is held at which plans and needs are presented for the coming year, following which a special concert and tea are given for those attending. Since its organization during the 1936-37 season, the membership of the Boston "Friends of the Orchestra" has grown to over 2,000. The plan has been copied in Cleveland where members of the organization are given a special concert, are the invited guests at a rehearsal and at a national broadcast, or similar orchestra functions, and are furnished periodic bulletins regarding the work of the orchestra. The Cleveland plan differs from Boston in that ten classes of membership have been established, ranging from annual members contributing amounts up to \$10, to Foundation Benefactors giving \$10,000 or more. The Philharmonic-Symphony League of New York performs a similar function and has a regular membership fee of \$10. Members of the league are entitled to one or more special private concerts, lectures on subjects related to the orchestra, its repertoire, and music appreciation, a private recording of an unusual orchestral work made exclusively for members, tickets for one regular Sunday concert, and six monthly bulletins with advance notices of programs. The wide nonvoting membership of the Southern California Symphony Society corresponds in effect to the "Friends of the Orchestra." Membership is divided into several classes: Patron Members, contributing \$1,000 or more a year; Sustaining Members, \$500-\$999; Supporting Members, \$250-\$499; and Active Members, \$100-\$249. Those contributing smaller amounts also are con-

sidered as members. The society also has organized committees in cities adjacent to Los Angeles, several of which have sponsored concert series by the Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles in their own communities. During the 1938-39 season, the Santa Barbara Committee purchased three concerts of the orchestra, while the San Diego Committee also sponsored concerts.

In addition to these larger and more clearly defined auxiliary organizations, there exists a variety of smaller committees formed for promotional and money-raising purposes. The Committee on Subscription Activities of the Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York was formed to interest new audiences. Its membership is drawn from current subscribers and averages between 75 and 100. It works through senior and junior committees in New York City and various suburban committees. The subcommittees contact clubs and organizations and build lists of prospects. The committee also collects contributions for the Student Ticket Fund and distributes about 1,000 tickets each season for the free use of students. Another Philharmonic-Symphony committee, the Educational Committee on Contacts for Music Interest in the Public Schools, distributes about 8,000 coupons each season to public schools and colleges permitting pupils to obtain regular-priced tickets at 25 cents each.

Secondary Orchestra Organization

All types of organization found among the major orchestras are imitated by the more important secondary orchestras—Group IV with annual budgets ranging from

\$10,000 to \$100,000. The principal differences are that the ticket-selling and money-raising machinery is less elaborate and that the management activities are conducted largely on a part-time, volunteer basis.

All but four orchestras of this group which were studied in detail have sustaining organizations. Of these four Baltimore is municipally operated, while the affairs of the New Haven, New Orleans, and Dayton orchestras are administered by small, self-perpetuating associations or boards.

The Hartford organization resembles Los Angeles in that it has a nonvoting membership of about 2,400 campaign contributors, while the board of 17 is a self-perpetuating group. The Civic Symphony Society of Denver is composed of 2,000 members contributing \$1 or more, who elect a board of 26. The Grand Rapids Symphony Society includes all those who buy season tickets. These elect 21 of the 22 members of the board, the other one being chosen by the personnel of the orchestra.

Two interesting departures from the usual setup are found in Harrisburg and Reading, Pennsylvania. Harrisburg has a Symphony Society of 500 members who pay \$3 or more annually. The board of 11, however, is elected by the members of the orchestra. In Reading, the principal financial assistance comes from a Musical Foundation which supports not only the orchestra but a choral society and a series of summer band concerts. Membership in the foundation is limited to those contributing \$25 or more annually.

Since the boards of these orchestras are comparatively small, ranging from 11 to 21—except in Buffalo which

has 75 members—very few committees are used. Only 5 orchestras in the group have executive committees; auxiliary women's committees exist in only 4 cities—Harrisburg, Wheeling, Kalamazoo, and Buffalo. Grand Rapids at one time had a women's committee but it was found that more effective work could be done by including the most active women as members of the symphony board.

Only 2 of the 13 orchestras studied in this group, Kalamazoo and New Haven, have salaried, full-time managers, while Harrisburg has a salaried, part-time manager. The work of managing the other orchestras is performed gratis by officers of the association or members of the board. The only important paid member of the business staff is a secretary or other clerical assistant who has charge of ticket sales and sometimes keeps the books. This is usually a part-time position.

The organization of the intermediate Group V secondary orchestras, with budgets of \$1,000 to \$10,000, is even more simple. Only 8 of the 20 orchestras in this group which provided detailed information have sustaining organizations. Membership is usually based upon the payment of dues which sometimes also cover the cost of a season ticket, and the number of members generally ranges from 200 to 300. The boards of these orchestras are often larger than those of the major and more important secondary orchestras, due to the fact that the board performs virtually all of the money-raising and management work. Considerable use is made by orchestras of this class of specialized committees of 1 or 2 board members and only 4 have executive committees and 2 have auxiliary women's committees. There were

only 6 salaried positions, 5 of them part-time, among the 20 orchestras studied. These included 1 part-time business manager, 2 part-time publicity men, and 3 secretaries. Either the president of the board or a volunteer business manager usually takes care of the details of orchestra operation.

Organization in the true sense is practically nonexistent in Group VI orchestras with budgets under \$1,000. Boards are small, ranging from 7 to 10 members, and the sustaining organizations, if they can be called such, consist almost exclusively of subscribers to concerts. Since the orchestras are largely co-operative the few committees that exist are composed principally of members of the orchestras.

Functions of Boards

Although the different elements of organization vary greatly from orchestra to orchestra, they are designed to perform essentially the same functions. The board of directors has the responsibility for determining the fundamental policy and for raising the funds and creating the administrative organization necessary to its execution. This involves decisions upon matters such as the total budget, size of orchestra, length of season, number and kinds of concerts, and the choice of conductor. The board also must decide upon the type of administrative staff and the scope of its activities. This includes choosing the manager and determining the budget available for clerical and other routine assistance, advertising, publicity, and public relations.

The task of raising funds is primarily a function of the board rather than of the management and involves the board's decision as to the type and extent of financial support which will be sought from the community, and the setting up of the necessary machinery. Where the initiative has been taken by a small self-perpetuating group, this involves determination of whether there shall be a sustaining organization and, if so, what shall be its scope and power. Even when the board is elected by a sustaining group, it is still faced with the task of shaping the scope of membership and activities to money-raising requirements and of formulating plans for effective operation. The board must decide also whether additional auxiliary groups are to be used for ticket selling or fund raising, and, if so, their relation to the board and the sustaining organization. Decisions regarding all of these matters involve not only a consideration of the principles of business organization, but also a most careful regard for all of the crosscurrents of community psychology.

Duties of Management

The management represents the executive arm of symphony orchestra organization. In common with all executive departments it is faced with the joint task of supervising and carrying out details of operation and of developing policies and recommending them to the legislative branch, in this case the board, and occasionally the sustaining organization. Upon the management's shoulders also rests the task of co-ordinating and reconciling the aims and activities of the many groups and individuals

concerned with symphony orchestra operation—the orchestra, the conductor, board, sustaining organization, women's committee, and other auxiliary groups, musicians' and other unions, publishers and copyright owners, and sometimes the school authorities and city fathers.

The routine duties which the management must perform or supervise range from assisting the conductor in planning the concert season to remembering the peculiarities of individual patrons when arranging their seating in the hall. Between these two extremes lies a variety of tasks which must be performed—hiring and firing the orchestra personnel, contacting the press, handling the advertising, supervising the box office, arranging for the printing of the concert programs, assisting the sustaining organization and auxiliary groups with their work, preparing and disseminating booklets, folders, and other promotional literature, developing and keeping up to date mailing lists, and, in addition, planning concert tours and dealing with the multitude of detail which arises when the orchestra is on the road.

The policy-making and advisory function of management is especially important in the symphony orchestra field because the manager is the only full-time, professionally experienced executive, and the boards, sustaining organizations, and auxiliary groups are composed of amateurs. Indeed, policy formulation and budget making frequently devolve almost entirely upon managers where they are competent and experienced. Effectiveness of management, however, is conditioned by the frame in which the board permits it to operate, and can be evaluated only in that light.

Problems of Symphony Orchestra Organization

Generalization as to the effectiveness of different types of boards is made difficult by the fact that the satisfactory performance of their functions depends less upon their form of organization than upon their personnel. In some cases board membership is dictated by social and financial considerations rather than by a real interest in music, business ability, or a knowledge and appreciation of orchestra problems. Sometimes the effectiveness of boards in gaining community financial support has been hampered by their failure to include members representative of important social, economic, racial, and religious elements in the community.

The tendency to consider symphony board membership an honor rather than a responsibility has at times impaired operating efficiency. Board members have often been more willing to contribute their name than their time and effort to the cause of the orchestra and to devote attention to its affairs only upon the occasion of the bimonthly or semiannual meetings of the board, assuming that they even attend these with any regularity. When this attitude exists, there is the danger that the board may become a rubber stamp for the decisions of a single individual or small group, or create a host of problems by attempting to push through ill-considered plans or pet ideas. Under such circumstances if the individual or group in whom the control of the orchestra actually rests is able and sincere, a high standard of management may be attained in spite of the drag of inactive board

members. But if lack of interest of the majority of the board places control in the hands of a person or clique with a restricted point of view and preconceived ideas, they can effectively stifle attempts at constructive action. Their ill-considered actions—arising either from ignorance or from viewing the orchestra as a means of personal gratification or prestige rather than as a civic institution—may alienate community good will, or impair hope and confidence in the future of the orchestra; and the public, therefore, may fail to provide the finances necessary to develop the orchestra beyond a limited degree of excellence.

Even where members are reasonably interested, the failure to fashion the board into a working organization and to allocate responsibility for specific phases of orchestra operation may minimize its efficiency. If no particular members of the board are intimately versed in specific aspects of the orchestra's work, policies may tend to be formulated and decisions made on the basis of superficial knowledge of the factors involved. In several instances this potential difficulty has been overcome by the delegation of specific matters either to small committees or individual board members. The budget and finance committees of some boards, noted earlier in the chapter, have been used to give expert and concentrated attention to this special problem. The informal specialization and division of labor carried out by the Boston Symphony's board of eleven have been most effective. Boards are and will continue to be the controlling factor in symphony organizations, and the success of some of the outstanding symphony orchestras can be attributed very largely to

their good fortune in having a board which is a cohesive and expert policy-making body.

Since boards no longer raise the funds to maintain the orchestra entirely from their own group, but are forced more and more to work through sustaining and auxiliary organizations, the nature of these organizations determines very largely the place of the orchestra in the life of the community. Where sustaining organizations are small, with membership contingent upon contributions of considerable size, they have tended to foster the feeling that the orchestra is the concern exclusively of a small, select group and that symphony concerts exist only for the intellectually and social elite. Orchestras with organizations of this sort have been distinctly handicapped when they have been forced to look beyond their own small circle for funds. In virtually every case, an attempt has been made to overcome this handicap through the creation of a special auxiliary organization with a more democratic membership.

Sustaining organizations, when they have a wide membership and fund-raising auxiliary organization such as "Friends of the Orchestra," have not only broadened the base upon which successful deficit financing depends, but also have contributed to an increased attendance at orchestra concerts. Together with the large and active women's committees, they have aided in stimulating a healthy interest in the orchestra as a community asset.

Although the need of a broad base of popular support is apparent, opinion is divided as to whether large voting sustaining organizations or large nonvoting auxiliary organizations are the better means of gaining this end. It is

impossible to generalize in answering this question, since so much depends on local conditions and historic development. An organization which will work well in one community may not be suited to another. Furthermore, the spirit that motivates the organization is more important than its form. A small board, sensitive to public opinion and assisted by well-co-ordinated auxiliary groups, may achieve a greater degree of public good will and support than a large, amorphous voting organization; but boards and general setups of this kind have been few and far between. Equally important in determining the form of organization to be used is a consideration of the fourth factor mentioned at the outset of the chapter—management.

The Larger Function of Management

It is not necessary to analyze further the routine duties of management, which are fairly generally understood. Running a symphony orchestra is a highly complicated and specialized task which places a particular premium upon native ability, breadth of vision, tact, and diplomacy. This is especially true in view of the fact that there are no regular channels for acquiring training and experience in orchestra management. On the whole, the work of routine management has been performed satisfactorily, and where paid staffs have been employed—as in all major orchestras—the costs do not appear exorbitant. It must be remembered that cost of management for major orchestras now represents no more than from 7 to 9 per cent of the total budget, that from 1919 to

1928 they rose less rapidly than personnel and other costs, and that since then they have remained relatively stationary.

Although concert attendance and operating income in many cases have increased, there is good reason to believe that managements have not always realized the full extent of the potential concert audience and that their routine publicity and broader public relations programs have therefore been too limited in their objectives. This, however, has not been due exclusively to the managements themselves, but can be traced to an underlying philosophy which has colored the organization and conduct of orchestra affairs. The observation that symphony orchestras never have and probably never will pay their own way from ticket receipts but must depend to a considerable extent on deficit financing, has led to the mistaken conclusion that the potential audience is extremely limited and that fund raising is the most important activity of orchestra organizations.

It is this point of view which is responsible for the tendency of some boards to cling to an exclusive and ultraconservative attitude in all questions of promotion and contacts with the public. For the same reason, boards have not always understood that adequate appropriations for management and long-run promotion are good investments. In several cases where the management itself has seen the possibilities of a more aggressive and comprehensive program the boards have been unwilling to assume the responsibility for raising the additional funds required.

Managements themselves have sometimes been imbued

with a defeatist attitude with regard to the limitations of concert attendance and have therefore passed back to the deficit-financing activities of the boards the responsibility of maintaining the orchestra. The view that orchestras must be dependent upon the bounty of the exclusive few has characterized the publicity of some orchestras which, in turn, have presented symphony concerts as social functions rather than as musical events of interest and importance to the whole community.

The healthiest and soundest condition for symphony orchestras is to have the largest possible proportion of their costs met out of the paid admissions of interested concert audiences. Though complete financing from concert attendance is out of the question, the approximation of this goal requires a greater emphasis than heretofore upon a real merchandising policy in the broadest sense. Such a policy implies the adaptation of concerts to the needs and desires of the potential audience through careful observation and analysis, and the development and execution of a long-range, comprehensive promotional program which will bring these concerts to the public in as attractive and impelling a manner as possible.

The evolution of a merchandising program is bound up with the willingness of boards to recognize the full extent of their responsibilities to a point where a continuous and consistent policy becomes possible. This involves a decision by the boards of the extent to which budgets should be balanced by the cost-cutting method, or whether the continued support of the orchestra can best be assured by maintaining it at a high standard of excellence, even though this may require extraordinary

efforts to tide over temporary emergencies. It also will be necessary to provide managements with sufficient funds and freedom of action to enable them to expand their activities beyond mere routine and to map out a program designed for cumulative effect. If symphony concert attendance and income are to be brought to higher levels, and orchestras, consequently, placed on a sounder economic basis, boards may be required temporarily to accept deficit financing on a scale which will permit planning beyond the exigencies of the current season and make possible a continuous and consistent policy. Since the development of a comprehensive merchandising policy involves practically every phase of orchestra operation, much of the remaining chapters will be concerned directly or indirectly with this problem.

SIX

REGULAR SUBSCRIPTION CONCERTS

DURING the weeks of their regular symphony seasons in 1937-38 the 16 major orchestras played to a total paying audience of 2,749,200. While information is available for but a limited number of the 200 or more secondary orchestras, it is probable that their combined audience was between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000. These audiences were reached through a great variety of concerts—the regular subscription series, special, popular, children's, young people's, and other concerts. The 3 Group I orchestras averaged 134 concerts a season, Group II, 78 concerts, and Group III, 61. The schedules of secondary orchestras are much more modest, averaging 11 concerts per season for the more ambitious Group IV with budgets over \$10,000, 7 concerts for Group V with budgets averaging \$4,200, and 4 for the primarily amateur organizations in Group VI.

The regular series concerts are the principal reason for the maintenance of symphony orchestras. Among major symphony orchestras, as shown in Tables VI and VII, the regular concerts represent from a third to nearly half of the total number of concerts and about half of

TABLE VI. CONCERTS GIVEN DURING THE REGULAR SEASON BY MAJOR ORCHESTRAS: 1937-38

<i>Orchestra</i>	<i>Population Metropolitan Districts, 1930</i>	<i>Regular Series</i>	<i>Tours</i>	<i>Special Concerts</i>	<i>Children's and Young's</i>	<i>Popular</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Group I</i>								
Boston Symphony ...	2,307,897	48	45	12	..	56	4	165
New York Philharmonic- Symphony	10,901,424	84	3	..	6	..	15	108
Philadelphia Orchestra	2,847,148	56	49	10	6	..	9	130
<i>Average for Group I</i>	<i>.....</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>134</i>
<i>Group II^a</i>								
Chicago Symphony ..	4,364,755	56	11	12	6	14	..	99
Cincinnati Symphony .	759,464	32	11	8	5	..	5	61
Cleveland Orchestra ..	1,194,989	40	30	..	19	6	18 ^b	113
Detroit Symphony ^a ..	2,104,764	21	5	..	15	10	..	51
Philharmonic of Los Angeles	2,318,526	33	8	3	5	9	..	58
Minneapolis Symphony	832,258	16	6	3	3	16	5	49
St. Louis Symphony ..	1,293,516	36	30	..	10	3	9	88
San Francisco Symphony	1,290,094	24	5	..	3	10	..	42
<i>Average for Group II</i>	<i>.....</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>70</i>
<i>Group III</i>								
Indianapolis Symphony	417,685	20	5	..	6	5	..	36
Kansas City Philhar- monic	608,186	20	17	..	6	3	1	47
National Symphony (Washington, D. C.)	621,059	20	52	3	6	..	4	85
Pittsburgh Symphony .	1,953,668	28	..	..	3	..	1	32
Rochester Civic and Philharmonic	398,591	12	8	..	15	23	47	105
<i>Average for Group III</i>	<i>.....</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>61</i>

^a San Francisco data based on Pierre Key's *Music Year Book*, 1938.^b Including opera.^c 1938-39 season: only data supplied.

the total attendance. Their significance from an income point of view is even greater, for they provide from half to two-thirds of the total operating income, and from 27 per cent to 43 per cent of total budgets.¹ Regular concerts are almost the only kind given by secondary orchestras.

For major orchestras, tour concerts are the second most important single type of concert. In Groups I and

TABLE VII. PAID ATTENDANCE AT MAJOR ORCHESTRA CONCERTS: 1937-38

Group	Number of Orchestras	Total Season Attendance for Entire Group	<i>Average Season Attendance per Orchestra</i>			
			All Concerts	Regular Series	Tours	Other
I	3	1,044,100	351,200 100.0%	172,000 ^a 46.0%	102,000 29.0%	77,200 ^d 25.0%
II	8	1,249,700	156,250 100.0%	76,100 48.8%	29,400 18.8%	50,750 32.4%
III	5	455,400	91,280 100.0%	40,460 44.3%	31,700 ^b 34.7%	19,120 21.0%
All Orchestras	16	2,749,200	171,825 100.0%	83,437 48.5%	43,750 ^c 25.4%	44,638 26.1%

^a This figure includes attendance at short series of symphony concerts other than the principal subscription series.

^b One orchestra.

^c The very extensive touring of one Group III orchestra seriously distorts the average. If the orchestra is eliminated from the group, the percentages for various classes of concerts are: regular series, 52.3%; tours, 18.4%; and other, 29.3%.

^d The Boston "pops" are the most important single factor contributing to the size of this figure.

¹ See Chapter Three, Table IV.

If they represent about a quarter of the season's concerts and their gross receipts are from an eighth to a quarter of the total season's operating income. Tour concerts are of about the same importance to orchestras in Group III, with the exception of one organization which travels more extensively. Few popular concerts are given by Group I orchestras, excepting Boston. Orchestras in Groups II and III, however, have relied to a greater extent on popular, as well as children's and young people's concerts, to reach new audiences and to use services which they are not able to sell as part of their regular symphony series or on tour. Taken together these "other" concerts represent a larger part of the total schedule for Groups II and III, but a smaller proportion of their operating income than for Group I. The only secondary orchestras giving concerts other than their regular series are Group IV, which average 8 regular and 3 children's concerts a season.

Regular Concert Attendance for Major Orchestras

The average attendance per concert at the regular series of Group I orchestras in 1937-38 was 2,570, as shown in Table VIII, and varied little among the group. In Group II the attendance ranged from about 1,300 to 3,400, but the average was 2,335—not far below Group I. The range of attendance at Group III concerts was from 1,200 to 2,700, with an average of about 2,000. The importance of the size of the metropolitan district and other marketing factors is suggested by the fact that or-

chestras in Groups II and III have smaller average attendance per concert than the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia orchestras in Group I, in spite of the fact that they give fewer concerts at lower average prices. The size of the hall does not seem directly to limit attendance in view of the fact that all orchestras have some unsold capacity. Since Group I orchestras sell about 92 per cent of their capacity for regular series concerts, it is obvious that they can add little to their operating income by more complete merchandising of their regular series, at least in their present auditoriums. Groups II and III sell a much smaller proportion of their capacity—70 per cent and 64 per cent, respectively—and, therefore, have the possibility of securing important additions to operating income by developing their regular series audiences.

TABLE VIII. MAJOR ORCHESTRA REGULAR CONCERT
SERIES: 1937-38

Group	Number of Concerts	Average Hall Capacity	Average Attend- ance Per Concert	Average Attendance as % of Hall Capacity	Average Season Receipts from Regular Concerts	Subscriptions as % of Series Receipts	Average Admission Cost Per Concert ^a
I	63	2,800	2,570	92	\$275,643	86	\$1.70
II	32	3,320	2,335	70	105,666	83	1.25
III	20	3,090	1,977	64	44,269	80	1.10

^a This is an arithmetic overall average, including both subscriptions and single tickets.

Factors Affecting Regular Series Attendance

The average and total attendance at regular series concerts are affected by a great variety of factors: the pricing of subscription and single tickets; the design and facilities of the auditorium; the program policy of the orchestra, including the compositions played, the number and type of soloists engaged, the regular and guest conductors, the day and time when concerts are presented, the advertising and promotion used, and the quality of the orchestra.

Orchestras in Group I, on the whole, have the highest subscription prices, either on a season or a prorated per-concert basis, as indicated in Table IX. The Boston Symphony Orchestra heads the group with a range of from \$35 to \$100 for 24 concerts and, on this basis, an average per-concert cost of \$1.46 to \$4.17. The New York Philharmonic-Symphony has divided its regular series in halves and sells subscriptions for 14 concerts at prices ranging from \$11.50 to \$35, or a prorated single concert price of 82 cents to \$2.50. In spite of their high prices, these orchestras have the highest average attendance, partly as a result of being situated in three of the largest centers of population, partly because of their undeniably high quality over a long period of time, and partly because of the cumulative effects of tradition and promotion.

There is considerable variation in the price range of Group II and III orchestras. Their lowest prorated price per concert ranges from 35 to 86 cents and their highest

from \$1.33 to \$4.00. Their shorter series brings season subscription prices to generally lower levels. Cleveland, for example, has a relatively high range of \$14.25 to \$70.00 for a series of 20 concerts, with a small hall capacity of about 2,000, while Cincinnati, with a hall seating 3,460, has a subscription price range of \$7 to \$45, also for 20 concerts. Detroit is an exception in that with a relatively small hall of 2,100 the price range is from \$7 to \$25 for 14 concerts. On the whole there seems to be little relation between prices charged and the size of market, although there is some relationship to size of hall.

There seems to be no established practice in providing differentials between the price per concert on a subscription and on a single concert basis. In general the differential on high-priced seats seems to run from 25 to 50 per cent, and on the low-priced seats from about 20 to 33 per cent. In some cases, however, there is very little differential at the bottom of the scale, and in Boston the subscription price is only slightly below the single concert price throughout the scale.²

Comparison of prices charged and the proportions of hall capacity sold for regular concert series in different cities indicates that price is not the controlling factor in present concert attendance. Further evidence of this is

² The lowest subscription price cited in the text and in Table IX does not always represent the lowest cost of admission to regular concerts. For example, the Boston and Philadelphia orchestras have available a certain number of tickets for unreserved seats, which can be bought singly at 50 cents per concert, and certain seats at New York Philharmonic-Symphony Concerts are available to students for single concerts at less than the prorated subscription price. Some other orchestras follow similar practices.

found in the great variation in the experience of different orchestras in selling subscription and single tickets in different price levels. In some cities the best demand for seats is found at the highest prices, in others at the lowest, and in still other cities at the middle range. Occasionally both the highest- and lowest-priced seats sell best, while the intermediate levels sag. Many of these variations are undoubtedly correlated with hall design. In some cases, uncomfortable seats, even though priced extremely low, simply will not sell. In instances where the medium-priced seats are best located acoustically, they outsell both the top and bottom prices.

In view of the many factors affecting prices, it is difficult to generalize on pricing policy without a much more intensive study of the pricing experience of individual orchestras, in relation to local conditions over a period of years, than has been possible in this survey. There seems to be some agreement among managers, however, on a few points. For example, relatively few price reductions seem to have been made for regular series concerts during the depression, and a number of orchestras have maintained an unvaried price schedule over a period of a decade or more. It is the general opinion of managers that, once a price schedule is established, it is inadvisable to change it without compelling reasons. Increases are particularly inadvisable unless a very good case can be made for them by virtue of a greater number of concerts or undeniable improvements in the quality and attractiveness of the concerts. In order to avoid alienating subscribers and patrons, price increases, if they are made, must be accompanied by a very carefully

TABLE IX. HALL CAPACITY AND SUBSCRIPTION PRICES FOR MAJOR ORCHESTRA REGULAR
CONCERT SERIES: 1938-39

	Hall Capacity	Total of Con- Regular Con- certs	Number of Con- certs Per Sub- scrip- tion	SUBSCRIPTION PRICE											
				Highest		Second Highest		Second Lowest		Lowest					
				Per Season	Per Concert	Per Season	Per Concert	Per Season	Per Concert	Per Season	Per Concert				
GROUP I															
Boston	.....	2,631	24	\$100	\$4.17	\$90	\$3.75	\$45	\$1.88	\$25	\$1.04			
New York	..	2,752	14	35	2.50	32	2.29	14	1.00	11.50	.82				
Philadelphia	3,031	56	28	100	3.57	90	3.21	33	1.18	25	.89				
GROUP II															
Chicago	....	2,582	28	65	2.32	60	2.14	36	1.29	24	.86			
Cleveland	..	2,000	40	70	3.50	47.50	2.38	18.75	.94	14.25	.71				
St. Louis	...	3,535	36	35	1.94	30	1.67	14	.78	10	.56				
Los Angeles ^a	2,666	24	{	12	2.25	21	1.75	7	.58	5	.42				
				33	2.75	27	2.25	7	.58	5	.42				
Detroit	....	2,100	14	25	1.79	20	1.43	15	1.07	7	.50			
Cincinnati	..	3,460	40	45	2.25	30	1.50	9	.45	7	.35				
Minneapolis	4,841	16	16	30	1.88	25	1.56	15	.94	10	.63				
GROUP III															
Pittsburgh ^b	3,700	32	{	16	2.75	40	2.50	9	.56	7	.44				
Rochester	..	12	{	16	2.25	32	2.00	8	.50	6.50	.41				
				12	1.33	15	1.25	10	.83	9	.75				
Washington	3,844	20	8	24	3.00	18	2.25	5.50	.69	4	.50				
Kansas City	2,672	20	10	40	4.00	25	2.50	7.50	.75	5	.50				
Indianapolis	1,937	20	10	22.50	2.25	18.50	1.85	10	1.00	7.50	.75				

^a The first price is for the Thursday evening, the second for the Friday afternoon concerts.

^b The first price is for the Friday evening, the second for the Saturday afternoon concerts.

planned public relations program and publicity campaign. This observation applies not only to changes in the general price range, but also to shifts in the pricing of different sections of the house. Changes should be made only if careful study has revealed them to possess definite advantages. When orchestras are newly established, or move into a new auditorium, the pricing diagram should, therefore, be planned with extreme care. Habit is a very important factor in the sale of subscriptions, and subscribers are likely to resent changes in the price of "their" seats.

Furthermore, it is generally considered advisable to maintain a stable price scale for single admissions for all regular series concerts, regardless of the box-office attraction of particular soloists. This practice emphasizes the orchestra for its own value rather than as a platform for the presentation of artists. Moreover, the public is likely to resent a higher-than-customary charge for a concert presenting an especially popular performer.

The idea of splitting the season into halves, in the hope of increasing the number of subscribers and total revenue, has frequently been discussed. Experience has shown that this procedure is likely to be unsuccessful except under unusual circumstances where an overdemand for subscriptions has been demonstrated. Otherwise, splitting the season may not result in increasing the number of subscriptions sufficiently to offset the halving of the subscription price.

Very few experiments have been tried in reducing prices for regular concert series. In fact, summer concerts represent the only large-scale attempt to attract big

audiences at low prices. Many orchestras find themselves in the position where their present auditoriums, even if sold out, would not yield sufficient income to meet expenses. Where large unsold capacities remain, as is the case in most cities, managers have been reluctant to lower prices because they fear that their total ticket receipts at lower prices will be less than at the present scale.

Hall Capacity and Design

At the present time the halls in which regular series concerts are given range in capacity from 1,937 in Indianapolis to 4,841 in Minneapolis. They average 2,800 for Group I orchestras and slightly over 3,000 for Groups II and III. The lack of a definite relationship between the size of auditoriums and size of city is indicated by these averages as well as by marked variations among orchestras in the different groups. Severance Hall in Cleveland, with a capacity of 2,000, for example, attempts to serve a metropolitan district of 1,194,000, while in Minneapolis, with a metropolitan district of 832,000, regular series concerts are given in the Northrup Memorial Auditorium seating 4,841.

It is difficult to prescribe an ideal size of auditorium in view of the individual requirements of different cities. While the managers in the largest centers are fairly agreed that it would be an advantage to have auditoriums larger than those being used at the present time, there also is a general agreement that 3,500 to 4,000 represents the top limit for a satisfactory hall. In the present state

of architectural and engineering science it is difficult to build a hall larger than this with the necessary sound properties. Managers also hesitate to go beyond this limit in view of the uncertainty of attracting reasonably full houses and of the highly undesirable psychological effect of partly filled auditoriums.

The principal difficulty among Group II and III orchestras at the present time is the fact that, although their average auditorium size—3,026 and 3,090—is about right, the actual auditoriums in many cases are either too large or too small. Indeed, a few of these halls are of such restricted capacity that, even if sold out at fairly high prices, they would provide a relatively small proportion of the necessary total income. Furthermore, there is a tendency with small halls to keep the prices as high as possible, thus creating an atmosphere of exclusiveness. A few managers are of the opinion that it is better to have a small hall and to give more concerts a week than to have a large hall and run the risk of failing to fill it. More concerts, however, mean increased costs, unless the orchestra has been unable to utilize profitably all of the services available under its union agreement.

Many halls were not designed with a view to presenting symphony concerts and even some of those which were constructed primarily for musical events have been found inadequate as to size or facilities. A number suffer from inconvenient locations, while some of the more centrally located ones are handicapped by poor parking facilities. Few have adequate foyer or lounge space. Some of the halls are unsatisfactory acoustically, while a few with good acoustics have other disadvantages. In

some instances particular blocks of seats may be especially uncomfortable, while in others seating difficulties may be created by pillars and similar obstructions. A few halls have inadequate stage space for the orchestra itself, while practically none of them possesses sufficiently flexible facilities to take care of ballet, opera, and other similar services in a satisfactory manner.

The auditorium bears a most important relationship to the merchandising of symphony concerts. Location is a factor of paramount importance—not only convenience of location but its relative social desirability. A too exclusive location quite easily may contribute to the general impression that symphony concerts are “high-brow” and “high-hat” occasions and that the orchestra is the concern only of the favored few. Adequate parking space, entrances, and exits are essential and are becoming more so in view of increasing traffic congestion. There is increasing realization that auditoriums must not only be acoustically satisfactory, but comfortable as well. Comfortable seats in all price classes and adequate space between rows are indispensable if the orchestra is to attract people away from their radios and easy chairs and from motion picture houses where comfort has been given the most careful consideration. While tradition and public opinion vary in regard to providing bar facilities in the lounges, a number of orchestras have found this a successful means of creating a friendly, informal atmosphere and of making concerts a pleasant social, as well as artistic, event. Facilities of this kind seem to be appreciated especially by the younger married set who are attending symphony concerts in increasing numbers.

The stage should be built for opera, ballet, large choral productions, and possibly unusual dramatic presentations. The average city has but one opportunity in many years to have a fine concert hall or civic auditorium, so that diversified usage should be provided for.

Hall design and capacity, however, are relatively static factors in the symphony situation, and in several cases where the present hall is decidedly unsatisfactory there is little hope of a new auditorium in the near future. Consequently, where cities or orchestras are planning new halls, it is vital that they design their auditorium not only in terms of acoustic properties, but also with equal consideration for the value of various facilities from a merchandising point of view and for the economics of pricing. Experience in a few instances has shown that a symphony orchestra's move into an adequate, commodious, and attractive hall has given new impetus to public interest and has resulted in larger audiences.

Days of the Week

During the 1937-38 season, Friday afternoon and Thursday and Saturday evenings were the most frequently selected times for regular series concerts. Eleven of the 16 major orchestras had Friday afternoon series, 7 had Thursday evening, the same number Saturday evening concerts. Other times when regular series concerts were given included Wednesday night, Friday night, Saturday afternoon, and Sunday afternoon. There has been little or no change in the days on which regular series concerts have been given in recent years. Since

1919-20 2 major orchestras—Los Angeles and Chicago—have shifted their regular series from Saturday night to Thursday night and for several seasons have been giving popular concerts on Saturday night. Several years ago the Cleveland Orchestra changed its Saturday afternoon series to Saturday night.

The principal problem in regard to a choice of the day of the week for regular series concerts has been that created by the shift of population to the suburbs combined with the five-day work week. Managers report increasing difficulty in filling their houses on Saturday nights, and several of them are contemplating changing to other days of the week. However, they are reluctant to do so in view of the role of habit in determining concert attendance. In at least one instance in the past a change from Saturday night for several seasons resulted in further reductions in audience. Managers and board members are of the opinion that shifts in regular series concert periods must be preceded by a most careful public relations campaign.

Programming

The success of a season of symphony concerts is as dependent upon programming as it is upon the quality of the orchestra. Every appearance of the orchestra is a public relations event of the first magnitude. All the supplementary publicity in the world will accomplish nothing if the performances themselves are a disappointment.

The conductor usually is, and should be, the arbiter of all questions of programming. Ordinarily he is interested

principally in preserving the highest possible musical standards. Some conductors are particularly conscious of their dual function: to please, as well as to help develop more informed and higher levels of musical taste. Most of them recognize the need of playing new compositions, without which there would be no progress. Yet they encounter the difficulty of selecting new works worthy of a permanent place in the repertoire and the inevitable disapproval that will greet some selections. Many of them persevere in their attempts to give contemporary music an appropriate place, since they recall the early violent opposition to Wagner and Brahms, whose compositions now vie with popular concert artists as box-office attractions. Whereas, at the turn of the century, music critics used, facetiously, to recommend the use of fire escapes "in case of Brahms," today whole programs and even cycles of his works are certain box-office attractions, as are those of Wagner. However, in some cases the introduction of new works has been carried to the extreme and has been done with an eye to competition with other conductors in gaining reputations for "first performances."

Some conductors undoubtedly have a flair for putting together well-balanced, interesting, and high quality programs and are sensitive to the reaction of their audiences in the same way that a merchandiser in one or another branch of trade watches the behavior of his customers. It is difficult to please all tastes and more difficult now than ever before because the wide dispersion of a little musical knowledge has given rise to a greater number of diverse and intense factions. Unfortunately there are to-

day too many musical snobs who set up their own ideas as to the proper standard and will not listen with an open mind, nor accept programs which a conductor must choose to appeal to his audience as a whole. Moreover, a very small percentage of any audience is composed of those possessed of technical knowledge and able to appreciate musical work because of its ingenious construction or the cleverness of its orchestration. The response of most audiences is largely emotional and they go to concerts for refreshment and inspiration, and, while they do not object to occasional new works, they undoubtedly feel more at home with "old friends" and prefer programs selected largely from the standard orchestral repertoire.

Conductors of major symphony orchestras are faced with the problem of building twenty to forty different programs a season. It is sometimes contended that the symphonic repertoire is wearing thin and that the difficulty of constructing an interesting and varied series of programs is therefore being increased. Those holding this point of view maintain that audiences will accept nothing except the few greatest, time-tested masterpieces and that there are not enough good new works coming to the foreground to revitalize the repertoire. A contrary contention cannot be overlooked to the effect that there is a wealth of good symphony literature which the vogue of imitation has neglected and which could profitably be used to enliven and vary programs. Therefore, it is an extremely difficult task for a conductor to steer a course which recognizes both the appeal of the familiar and the stimulation of the new. Of course, programming in-

volves not only the selection of the individual compositions, but the achievement of balance as well.

One factor which is sometimes considered unimportant, but which undoubtedly affects the spirit with which the audience leaves an auditorium, is the timing of the program. There is a definite point past which additional symphonic music yields diminishing satisfaction. The fact that many of the audience live in the suburbs also is a practical consideration in limiting the length of the program. Several conductors who are recognized as masters of program making seldom devise concerts in which the actual playing time exceeds 80 to 85 minutes, and take particular pains to provide an adequate intermission period.

Inseparably bound up with considerations of programming and the quality of the orchestra is the question of the conductor and, particularly, of the "star" conductor, which was discussed to some extent in Chapter Four. Recognition was given to the contribution of conductors to the success of orchestras by virtue of their ability and their box-office appeal. The power of personality is always great in the field of art and entertainment, and particularly in an orchestra where the conductor personifies the whole organization. From the point of view of appealing to the imagination of the public and of attracting large audiences the star conductor has undeniable advantages. In some cases, however, where the activities of the conductor himself, the willingness of the press and the public to seize upon a picturesque personality, or the fact that the management has taken the easiest way in its publicity and built up the conductor to

the exclusion of the orchestra, the "star" conductor may eclipse both the organization and the music it performs. Under these circumstances public interest and attendance may fall away disproportionately when the orchestra appears under the baton of an assistant or guest conductor. Even greater difficulties may arise when circumstances necessitate a change of conductor. There seems to be a growing realization among managers and boards that an organization cannot be borne along on the reputation of the conductor, but, if stable audiences and dependable financial support are to be ensured, equal care must be given to building up the real quality of the orchestra and to keeping the proper balance in the public mind between the value of the music, the orchestra as a performing instrument, and the conductor.

Guest Artists

The extent to which guest artists should be used on regular series concerts has received a great deal of discussion. In view of their expense the management and board of directors in many cases would like to reduce their use to a minimum. Furthermore, the too frequent use of guest artists tends to throw the orchestra into the background and to build up an audience depending largely upon the glamour of the soloist. All orchestras have found it necessary to present soloists and groups to some extent in order to add to the attractiveness and variety of their programs. This practice, however, varies from a limitation of guest artists to occasions when they perform concertos and similar symphonic works with a

rightful place in the orchestral repertoire, to their exploitation as a principal means of attracting audiences. Group III orchestras, newly established and therefore requiring the use of every means to stimulate public interest, make more extensive use of soloists and assisting ensembles in their regular concerts than do the orchestras of the other two groups—in 67 per cent of their concerts as compared to 61 per cent for Group I, and 48 per cent for Group II, in 1937-38.

On the whole it is conceded that more single admissions are usually sold for concerts with soloists than for those of the orchestra alone. The management is always faced with the choice between "box-office" artists and performers who are sometimes equally competent but with less public appeal, and in making up the season schedule they attempt to combine these two types in the proportions which will yield the greatest net return. For the current season, for example, the management of one major orchestra has decided to use fewer and better known and more expensive artists, while another has decided to feature a larger number of less widely known performers. In terms of extra single admissions the high-priced artists often may not add enough income to pay their expenses; but their value in selling subscription tickets is undoubted, even though it cannot be measured.

Advertising and Promotion

The best-planned and most attractive regular series will fail to realize its income-producing potentialities without adequate promotion. The most effective means

of promotion is a large, carefully selected, and up-to-date mailing list, of which constant use is made. The efficient use of such a list is possible only if the season itself has been planned in detail early enough to permit the preparation and mailing of literature well in advance of the season. In addition, some managers have made successful use of small folders giving complete summaries of the main prospectus; these are distributed in department stores and other retail establishments. The detailed prospectus not only should be as attractive as possible, but should also contain all essential information regarding dates, soloists, and prices. At the present time it is probable that too little attention is being given to the physical make-up and copy of prospectuses and that more expert application of the accepted principles in these fields would materially enhance the selling value of the literature of many orchestras.

The management of one orchestra, located in a metropolitan district of less than a million population but having the largest average attendance for its regular series concerts, utilizes a mailing list of 15,000 names to which prospectuses are issued six weeks before the first concert. This procedure is supplemented by the distribution of about 100,000 summary folders through retail stores. It was found that the public wants programs in advance and the practice has therefore been established of announcing programs in the press a week prior to their performance. Programs and folders are also available in two or three downtown box offices maintained by the management, as well as at libraries and at other public places.

Too little attention has been given to continuous and constructive publicity. There seems to have been a tendency to rely upon routine releases; and the news possibilities of the music, the orchestra, and its personalities have not been sufficiently exploited. Part of this difficulty undoubtedly has been due to the frequent practice of maintaining part-time publicity men who are not sufficiently identified with the interests of the orchestra and who are not on the job continuously to take advantage of news opportunities when they occur. The attitude of many music critics and editors has been to treat concerts too much from the technical point of view rather than to review and report them as events of general interest, while routine reporting, on the other hand, often has tended to emphasize the social aspects. Both of these practices have restricted the public appeal of concerts.

One theme that deserves constant repetition in symphony orchestra publicity and public relations is that the enjoyment of symphonic music is not dependent upon technical knowledge. Undoubtedly there is a large public which would enjoy symphony concerts if they were not kept away from the concert hall by their fear that they are not "educated up" to them.

In addition to literature and newspaper publicity, managements are finding that personal promotion by competent and well-informed representatives of the orchestra who address all kinds of clubs, business, civic, and social groups is a particularly effective device for stimulating attendance at regular series. More attention might well be given to this type of promotion, especially to the techniques of presentation and the training of speakers.

Regular Series Concerts of Secondary Orchestras

Secondary orchestras restrict their concerts almost entirely to the so-called regular series, of which, however, they give only a few. The average attendance per concert in 1937-38 for the more important secondary orchestras, comprising Group IV, was approximately 2,000 and corresponded roughly to that of Group III major orchestras. For Groups V and VI average attendance was 1,264 and 747. The halls are usually smaller than those of the major orchestras and often are high-school auditoriums. In Group IV, however, the auditoriums available in many cases are comparable to those of major orchestras. In view of the fact that they give so few concerts, secondary orchestras are able to fill their halls as well, or, in some cases, better than most Group III major orchestras—78 per cent of hall capacity being sold by Group IV secondary orchestras, 70 per cent by Group V, and 61 per cent by Group VI. About 80 per cent of regular series receipts of both Group IV and V orchestras are derived from subscriptions. Group VI, which averages between 3 and 4 concerts a season, secures slightly less than half of its ticket income from series sales.

For Group IV and V secondary orchestras, single admission prices range from 25 cents to \$1.50, and their subscription prices—depending on the number of concerts—from \$3 to \$10. There is very little differential between the season and the single admission price, except for some of the best orchestras in Group IV. In Group

VI season prices usually run from \$1.50 to \$3, and single admissions from 25 cents to \$1.

The program problems of secondary orchestras are different but no less difficult than those of major orchestras. Here the conductor has the task of selecting a program that will not be beyond the technical facility of his orchestra, and which will still be interesting to an audience which, to a large extent, has been listening to the best symphonies over the radio. The result is that the programs of secondary orchestras are comprised principally of the better known and less elaborately instrumented symphonies and some of the more tuneful and popular tone poems and suites, although some of the larger professional orchestras in Group IV present programs generally similar to those of Group III major orchestras.

Secondary orchestras, like the major orchestras, have found the use of soloists an indispensable part of their programs and tend to be even more dependent upon them. Orchestras in Group IV, during the 1937-38 season, presented guest artists in 71 per cent of the regular concert programs, and included among these some of the best known and most popular soloists. Group V orchestras used fewer artists—in 54 per cent of their concerts—and relied to a greater extent upon younger and less well-known performers and upon local talent. The almost entirely amateur orchestras in Group VI presented soloists in 90 per cent of their programs and depended almost exclusively on local talent.

The tendency of guest artists to overshadow the orchestra is an even more acute problem than in the case

of the major orchestras. The appeal of the orchestra is limited by its quality, the range of its repertoire, and the tendency of the public to place too great importance upon the level of skill attained by the great virtuoso orchestras rather than upon hearing good music for itself. There is an element of added danger in the practice of some secondary orchestras in allowing soloists to present a group of numbers unaccompanied by the orchestra. Not only does this further emphasize the relative importance of the soloist, but, if encores are allowed, it may disrupt the entire program structure and timing.

The promotional problems of secondary orchestras differ from those of major organizations in several respects. They rely principally upon personal solicitation, by teams of workers, in promoting the sale of season tickets. While they are handicapped in having to use amateur talent in all their promotion work, they are able to capitalize especially strongly upon the importance of the symphony orchestra as a local institution. The techniques required in ticket selling do not differ from those of other orchestras, for the ability to emphasize the community aspects of the orchestra affects the appeals which may be used rather than the methods to be employed in publicity.

SEVEN

CONCERTS FOR VARIED AUDIENCES

MAJOR symphony orchestras have always faced the problem of maintaining a sufficiently long season to provide their men an annual income adequate to attract competent musicians and to keep the personnel intact from year to year. The union agreement, whereby players are engaged for a specified number of weeks, crystallizes the management's responsibility for maintaining a season of satisfactory length and imposes upon it the task of selling enough concerts to utilize the services for which it has contracted.

Since there is a limit to the number of regular symphony concerts which a community will absorb at the present time, it has been necessary to dispose of the remaining services through diversified types of concerts—tours, popular concerts, children's and youth concerts, short special series, and summer concerts. Some of these have been developed principally for the contribution they might make to the orchestra's net operating income, while others, such as children's concerts, have been undertaken primarily as public services which would firmly establish the orchestra in the community and help to ensure favorable response to maintenance fund campaigns

and other requests for financial support. However, the motives which have impelled individual orchestras to establish various kinds of concerts have not always been the same, and the line of demarcation between the desire directly to augment operating income and to render an important public service has by no means been clear cut.

The entire problem of diversification of service has been confined principally to major orchestras, since secondary orchestras are usually financed on a concert-and-rehearsal basis and thus have neither the artistic resources nor the urge to attempt a large measure of diversification.

Concert Tours

Touring was the earliest method by which managements sought to increase the length of seasons in order to bring the annual income of their players to satisfactory levels. At the end of the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century most of the permanent orchestras then established took advantage of the groundwork that had been laid by the traveling orchestras¹ and undertook extensive tours either during or at the close of their regular seasons. The 10 major symphonies existing in 1913-14²

¹ See Chapter One.

² The major orchestras existing in that year were the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra, Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, New York Symphony Orchestra, Philadelphia Orchestra, Philharmonic Society of New York (with which the New York Symphony was merged in 1928), St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, and the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. See "American Symphony Orchestras," by Henry B. Baerman, *Musical Courier*, February 10, 1915.

gave more than 400 concerts on the road. The 2 most extensive tour schedules were those of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, which presented 146 out-of-town concerts with 9 additional weeks of touring, and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, with 22 tour concerts during the season and 13 extra weeks. By 1928-29 the total number of tour concerts given by major orchestras was about 300, a decline of 25 per cent, in spite of the fact that major orchestras now numbered 11. Although the number of major orchestras had grown to 16 by 1938-39, their total tour concerts still remained at approximately 300.

While, on the whole, the 3 orchestras in Group I gave about the same number of out-of-town concerts in 1938-39 as in 1928-29, 2 of them had changed their touring policy materially. The New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra reduced its tour concerts from 28 to 4, while the Philadelphia Orchestra increased its out-of-town engagements from 22 to 56. The Boston Symphony tour schedule remained about the same, with 43 concerts. Tour concerts represent about a fourth of Boston's entire schedule and a little over two-fifths of the Philadelphia Orchestra season. The touring done by the 8 Group II orchestras declined during the last decade from an average of 33 concerts to 16. Important changes occurred in the touring activities of individual orchestras. For example, the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra decreased its tour engagements from 83, or 70 per cent of its total number of concerts, to 8, or about 20 per cent; Los Angeles had an extensive tour of 43 concerts in 1928-29, and only 9, ten years later; Chicago dropped

from 20 tour concerts to 11, and Cleveland from 43 to 32. Slight gains have been made within the last few years in the number of tour concerts given by the Cleveland and Cincinnati orchestras. The only 2 orchestras in Group II with important tour schedules at the present time, however, are Cleveland, with 32, and St. Louis, with 28 out-of-town concerts. Three out of the 5 relatively new Group III orchestras are building up tour business: the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington, D. C., with 40 concerts in 1938-39; Kansas City Philharmonic with 26; and the Rochester Philharmonic with 15. While it was still the leader among the group, the National Symphony's out-of-town concerts had declined from 52 in 1937-38. The Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra gave 9 tour concerts. The recently reorganized Pittsburgh Orchestra has adopted the policy of doing no touring until the orchestra has had the opportunity to acquire a degree of artistic maturity.

In summarizing the importance of touring at the present time, it may be said that only 6 of the entire group of major orchestras have extensive tours. In 1938-39, Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, Washington, and Kansas City accounted for 80 per cent of the out-of-town concerts given by major orchestras, and for about the same proportion of net receipts from that source. The position of the Philadelphia and Boston orchestras in this field may be said to be unique in that their established reputations and clientele bring their net receipts from tour concerts to about twice the amount for all other major orchestras combined. The relative profitability of tour concerts is indicated by the fact that

the net receipts for each engagement averages about \$2,500 for Group I orchestras, \$850 for those in Group II, and \$450 for Group III.³ The contribution to operating income by tour receipts varies widely and ranges from about 2 per cent to 33 per cent of operating income for orchestras which give a relatively large number of out-of-town concerts. It should be pointed out, however, that in some cases tour concerts may represent a large proportion of the season's engagements, but that net receipts from this source may add only a small percentage to total operating income.

Touring is an entirely different matter today from what it was twenty to thirty years ago. Even as late as 1919-20 the itineraries of some of the orchestras touring the Middle and Far West included many communities of 5,000 to 15,000 population. Among the many towns visited by the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra during that year were Clarinda, Ia. (4,511),⁴ Kirksville, Mo. (7,213), St. Cloud, Minn. (15,873), Miles City, Mont. (7,937), and Moscow, Idaho (3,956). At the present time major orchestras visit very few towns of this type and the great majority of their out-of-town concerts are given in cities of 50,000 population and over. The smaller communities which are visited occasionally are chiefly college and university towns where either part or the en-

³ Net receipts for tour concerts, as used here, represent the balance remaining after deducting from gross receipts the cost of transportation, the *per diem* allowance to players, in some cases hall rental, and other expenses directly chargeable to the tour. Personnel salaries are not considered as a direct tour cost but as part of the overhead of the regular season, since the services used on tour are covered in the union agreement.

⁴ 1920 population.

tire fee for the concert may be guaranteed by the college authorities.⁵

A variety of factors have contributed toward restricting profitable tour engagements to the larger towns and cities. Most of the small town choral societies are a thing of the past and where they still exist, as in some of the small college towns, the accompaniments for their concerts are usually supplied by orchestras composed of college students. The large number of concerts on tour in 1913-14 and thereabouts was due to numerous music festivals given by choral societies in those earlier days. Nearly all the orchestras—and particularly Minneapolis and Chicago—at the close of their regular seasons reduced their personnel to 50 or 60 players, engaged a quartet of vocal soloists, and embarked on a long spring tour of music festivals. Such orchestras were not engaged primarily to give real symphony concerts, but rather to provide the accompaniments for oratorios and sometimes opera in concert form. Out-of-town audiences can no longer be interested in symphony concerts unless they are given by a full orchestra and include a repertoire comparable to that included in its regular series and to

⁵ While the usual practice today is for the orchestra to be guaranteed a specified sum for out-of-town engagements, either by a local management or occasionally an organization such as Community Concerts or Civic Concerts, a different marketing situation is presented in the case of many college sponsored concerts. The college authorities are usually not primarily interested in the proceeds derived from ticket sales and view the concerts as an educational service rather than a source of income. Frequently the cost of student admissions is met out of a general activities fee and all students are free to attend the concert. Since the college need not make a profit, these arrangements make it possible for orchestras to have engagements which a local manager could not afford to handle.

what can be heard over the radio. Conditions are thus quite different from several decades ago when it was possible to take only a part of the orchestra on tour and when many of the concerts given consisted of lighter works which could be played with little rehearsal. The general increase in players' salaries and the change in standards demanded by the public have contributed to rising costs of tour performances, which can no longer be met by the smaller communities.

Profitable touring is made even more difficult for the majority of orchestras in that there are more organizations among which to share the business. The increasing competition is illustrated by the fact that whereas in 1913-14 the 6 leading touring orchestras accounted for nearly 95 per cent of out-of-town concerts, the 6 leaders in touring today give but 80 per cent. Undoubtedly additional competition has been afforded by the secondary orchestras which have sprung up in many communities. Even though few of these secondary orchestras compete artistically with the available major orchestras, many communities prefer to support the local organization as a community institution and service.

Few, if any, tour concerts would be profitable if their total expense, including prorated personnel cost, were charged against them. Since the management must pay the salaries, whether or not concerts are sold on tour, these concerts are considered profitable in so far as they yield any return over and above transportation and other direct touring costs, which can be applied to reducing the deficit. An orchestra management, therefore, can adjust prices in any manner necessary, or can travel as far

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Profitable touring is made even more difficult for the majority of orchestras in that there are more organizations among which to share the business. The increasing competition is illustrated by the fact that whereas in 1913-14 the 6 leading touring orchestras accounted for nearly 95 per cent of out-of-town concerts, the 6 leaders in touring today give but 80 per cent. Undoubtedly additional competition has been afforded by the secondary orchestras which have sprung up in many communities. Even though few of these secondary orchestras compete artistically with the available major orchestras, many communities prefer to support the local organization as a community institution and service.

Few, if any, tour concerts would be profitable if their total expense, including prorated personnel cost, were charged against them. Since the management must pay the salaries, whether or not concerts are sold on tour, these concerts are considered profitable in so far as they yield any return over and above transportation and other direct touring costs, which can be applied to reducing the deficit. An orchestra management, therefore, can adjust prices in any manner necessary, or can travel as far

afield as it can book engagements, so long as a net return remains at the end of the tour. This increases price competition and also the difficulty of booking an advantageous itinerary of adjacent towns which can be covered at a minimum expense. The suggestion has sometimes been made that symphony orchestras should limit their touring activities to "logical areas of service," and should avoid encroaching on each other's territories as far as possible. If this principle could be applied it would undoubtedly result in more efficient service and more profitable business. It would be difficult, however, to apply this suggestion. Many orchestras are so situated that they must naturally compete over considerable areas. Moreover, symphony orchestras vary as to size, quality, and reputation, and therefore as to the prices they can command. For these reasons different orchestras will compete at different price levels within a wide area. In spite of the fact that widespread competition is certain to continue, managements might find it advantageous to follow a practice which has proven highly successful in many businesses—to explore more thoroughly the market possibilities of near-by communities. Not only can these cities be served more economically, but the opportunity is afforded for the orchestra to build up a regional service which, in course of time, should prove an important and stable source of operating income and provide the basis for broader appeals for financial support.⁶

⁶ An example of this principle is found in the experience of one of the smaller truck manufacturing companies which increased its business 25 per cent during the depression by reducing its sales territory from 48 to 6 near-by states and by adapting its product to the special needs of the smaller market.

Especially in the case of young orchestras, touring may be of indirect benefit, financially, far beyond the receipts derived from out-of-town concerts. Favorable reception in important cities, and especially in New York, adds to the reputation of the orchestra at home and causes it to become an object of community pride, as a result of which audiences increase and the task of raising maintenance funds is made easier.

Popular Concerts

Popular concerts also were introduced for the purpose of offering the members of the orchestra longer and, therefore, more advantageous engagements. Popular concerts sought to reach new audiences by means of lighter music and the serving of refreshments, and followed a practice successfully instituted by Theodore Thomas in his Terrace Garden concerts in New York as early as 1866. While the principal purpose of these concerts has usually been to add to operating income, it was also hoped that they would be a means of increasing the audiences for the regular season.

In 1938-39, 10 of the 16 major orchestras gave popular concerts of one form or another. The Boston Symphony is the only Group I orchestra to present popular concerts; in Group II, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and St. Louis have popular series; in Group III, Indianapolis, Kansas City, and Rochester. In addition, the 10 municipal concerts sponsored by the Art Commission of San Francisco resemble popular concerts in some respects.

In general popular concerts differ from those of the regular season in that they have a somewhat lighter program, feature fewer and less well-known soloists, and are presented under more informal conditions at lower prices. Though most popular concerts follow this general pattern, those in Boston add the highly successful feature of setting up tables and serving refreshments during the concerts. Prices for concerts of this type usually range from 25 to 75 cents, but in a few cases some seats may be sold for as high as \$1. Most popular concerts are given on Saturday night, Sunday afternoon, and Sunday night, and the series vary from 3 a season, in Kansas City, to 56 in Boston. While in most cities the "pops" are interspersed with the regular concerts, those in Boston are concentrated in a special ten-week series at the end of the symphony season.

Since the use of popular concerts varies so greatly among individual orchestras, it is impossible to generalize for any group, as a whole, as to the proportion of operating income derived from this source. However, the percentage of operating income secured from "pops" ranges from 3 per cent to 7 per cent for most orchestras, but may reach 15 per cent or 16 per cent for the few orchestras that give a large number of these concerts.

Chicago provides an interesting example of the conventional type of popular concert. These concerts have been an important part of the orchestra's activities for twenty-six years and are so well established that no special publicity is used to promote them beyond a simple line on the regular concert announcements. The concerts are popular in both type and price. They do not

present expensive artists but frequently use members of the orchestra or relatively unknown local talent as soloists. Encores are allowed and the conductor frequently addresses informal remarks to the audience. An interesting feature of the Chicago popular series is that the sale of tickets is promoted by making it possible for institutions such as schools, banks, settlements, industrial and commercial organizations to distribute tickets at reduced rates. The only requirement is that they sell thirty or more tickets. At the present time about 50 institutions are co-operating in this plan. If an organization does not sell the specified number of tickets, it is not required to make up the difference in price, but, after repeated failures, is taken off the list.

Public interest in popular concerts has tended to decline in a number of cities and the audiences have demanded more and more the same general type of program as is presented in a regular symphony series. Indeed, in many cases the distinction between the "pop" and regular programs has faded to such an extent that the former have remained popular in price only and have come to compete increasingly with the regular series. Managers in a few cities have either discontinued popular concerts during the regular season, or are seriously contemplating doing so.

The Boston "Pop" concerts were established in 1885 and for many years about 5 out of every 6 of these concerts have been sold out. A number of factors have contributed to the unique and lasting success of these concerts. In the first place, they were begun at a time when few other forms of public recreation were available and

a tradition was firmly established before the advent of motion pictures and other competing leisure-time activities. Furthermore, they are given during a ten-week period beginning the first Wednesday in May and after the close of the regular symphony season. Symphony Hall possesses unusual facilities for the creation of a pleasant and informal atmosphere. The slanting floor upon which the seats for regular concerts are placed can be removed with comparatively little effort, leaving a flat surface upon which tables can be set up for serving refreshments. The entire interior is redecorated in a style appropriate for a summer garden. The service features food which requires no knives and forks and a well-selected and reasonably priced wine list. The hall has a further advantage in that the kitchen facilities are sufficiently far away from the stage so that the noise cannot interfere with the concert.

The highest order of showmanship is demonstrated in both the programming and promotion of the concerts. The repertoire of the "Pops" includes about 400 works, not only the best symphonies, but also some of the finest examples of shorter and lighter compositions, including the works of popular composers such as Gershwin, Porter, Grofé, and Alec Templeton. There has been a consistent policy of developing feature programs—"Gay Nineties Nights," Wagner Nights, Gilbert and Sullivan programs. One of the most successful of the last season was a "Candid Camera Night." Camera enthusiasts could take shots of the audience and orchestra throughout the program, but flashlights were permitted only during the last number—Strauss' *Thunder and Lightning Polka*.

An effective promotional device has been the sponsorship of special nights by schools, universities, and other organizations. The Harvard, M. I. T., and Roxbury Latin School nights are among the traditions of long standing. Customs have changed, however, since the days when Harvard Night required an extra force of ushers and police and when M. I. T. students snake-danced in a body to the concert. Today the undergraduates bring their girls and demand such music as Brahms' *Akademische Fest Overture*. Conditions are varied to meet the demands of different sponsors, and wines and liquors are not served if the organization prefers to omit this feature. All kinds of newspaper publicity and other promotion are also used for the "Pops." Each week about 20,000 folders are distributed in schools and stores, and an actual demand has grown up for them on the part of many of these institutions. The price of the concerts ranges from 25 cents to \$1. The "Pop" concerts are practically self-sustaining in that the total receipts just about cover the total costs, except management overhead, and the refreshment service pays for itself.⁷

Imitation of the Boston type of popular concert has been limited by lack of adequate hall facilities. Recently attempts have been made with some success in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Cleveland. In St. Paul a huge indoor ice-skating rink has been converted into a concert hall where performances are given by members of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra in conjunction with

⁷ The relative profitability of these "Pops," as of the summer series of several orchestras, is due partly to the lower orchestra salaries paid.

an attractive ice carnival. A four-week series of summer "pops" were given in Cleveland in 1939 in the Municipal Auditorium where tables were set up and refreshments served.

A review of the situation with regard to popular concerts suggests that the type of "pops" that have the best chance of success and that will contribute most to the financial stability of the orchestra are those which are clearly distinguished in programming and atmosphere from the regular symphony concerts, and which, if possible, are given at a time other than during the regular season. A series of this kind, if carried on with imagination and showmanship, and intelligently promoted over a period of time, will not only contribute materially to the orchestra budget, but may serve as a pleasant introduction to a life-long interest in symphonic music for countless people and may thus help to increase the regular series audience. Attention should again be called to the fact that emulation of the Boston "Pops" is possible only if the right type of hall facilities are available. Furthermore, the task of firmly establishing a "pops" series is more difficult than in the past because of the greater number of competing leisure-time activities, and now requires more aggressive and continuous promotion.

Children's and Youth Concerts

Concerts for children and young people are assuming more and more importance in the schedules of symphony orchestras and represent one of the most significant developments in recent years. It is frankly recog-

nized that these concerts cannot be primarily a source of operating income. They are undertaken as an educational service which will yield a twofold advantage to the orchestra: building new adult audiences over a period of time, and establishing the symphony firmly as an institution deserving the financial support of the community. During the 1938-39 season 12 of the 16 major orchestras gave series of concerts for children, and 8 presented youth concerts. While information regarding the children's concerts was incomplete for secondary orchestras, it appears that a number of the more important give 2 or 3 of these concerts a season. Sometimes the distinction between these two forms of concerts is not entirely clear, but in general the children's concerts are designed primarily for grade and junior high-school students, while youth concerts are intended for those of high-school and college age.

The number of children's concerts given by major orchestras varies from 2 in Indianapolis to 15 in Cleveland and Rochester. The Detroit children's series consist of 10 concerts, while most of the other orchestras present 5 or 6 concerts. While the series usually are planned to introduce the children to the instruments of the orchestra, acquaint them with various forms of music and music of different nations and composers, there are two methods of presenting children's concerts: one is typified by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Young People's Concerts where the emphasis is placed on the programming of the concerts themselves, which are sold through the ordinary channels of promotion, and the other, best exemplified by Cleveland and Detroit, where

concerts are presented in close co-operation with the school system and the children are prepared for them in the course of their classroom work. At the present time about an equal number of orchestras present the two types.

The New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society has presented its 6 Young People's Concerts on Saturday mornings in Carnegie Hall. For many years they were conducted by Ernest Schelling, who gave an informal talk, illustrated with stereopticon slides, dealing with the various compositions, composers, and instruments of the orchestra featured in the program. The children are encouraged to keep notebooks, and awards are given at the end of the series for the best notebooks presented. Subscription prices range from \$1.25 to \$12.50 a seat for the series. The concerts are usually sold out and, indeed, have been so successful that 3 additional concerts have been planned for the 1939-40 season. The pattern of children's concerts in Chicago where they were begun twenty years ago, and that in Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and San Francisco, resemble in general the New York Philharmonic-Symphony plan.

The outstanding examples of children's concerts, given with the co-operation of the school system, are found in Cleveland and Detroit. From its founding, the Musical Arts Association of Cleveland, which supports the orchestra, gave assistance to student orchestras in the high schools and the Music School Settlement. Foundation had been laid earlier for an interest in children's concerts by Mrs. Adella Prentiss Hughes who presented one or two a season by the visiting orchestras which she

brought to Cleveland. This small number of concerts was felt to be inadequate and emphasized the need for a local symphony orchestra which could provide wider musical education for the young people in the community, in addition to its other services. During its first year, the Cleveland Orchestra gave evening concerts for parents and children in the high-school buildings. Out of these concerts grew the present program of Educational Concerts, inaugurated in 1920, the purpose of which has been to integrate the orchestra's program with the music appreciation work in the public, private, and parochial schools. The Department of Music of the Cleveland Public Schools has given its active support, and since 1930 the integration has been carried out through Miss Lillian Luverne Baldwin, Assistant Supervisor of Music Appreciation. Each season's Educational Concerts are planned simultaneously with the study material which is to be used as the basis for the music appreciation course throughout the school system. Printed booklets and pamphlets are carefully prepared and written in a vivid and charming style that is interesting to adult teachers as well as children.⁸ Every child who attends the concerts has had at least ten study periods on the program to be played and the composers represented. Extensive use is made of fine recordings of the compositions in preparing the students for the actual concerts. The Cleveland Board of Education encourages co-opera-

⁸ Miss Baldwin's booklets have been transcribed into Braille and have been used by the blind children of the Waring School of Cleveland, many of whom now attend the concerts, as well as in other parts of the country.

tion on the part of teachers in other departments. The study of other arts, essays and compositions, history and geography often provide background for the music material. The whole plan is designed with a thought toward the continuity of the child's musical experience, since he is presumably to be a listener over a period of years.

The public schools sell tickets to the school children for 25 cents and the children attend the concerts in groups, accompanied by a teacher or parent. The concerts are given in Severance Hall in an atmosphere of beauty, which, in itself, contributes to the children's experience. Instead of distributing the children's concerts throughout the season, they are now massed in two gala weeks, one in January and one in March, as near the end of each school semester as is possible for the orchestra to arrange. This not only gives more time for preparation and makes the concerts the grand climax to weeks of study with phonograph records, but focuses the attention of the children and of the whole community on the series. Programs are planned at three musical levels: the Little Folks Program, for grades three and four; Children's Concerts, grades five and six; Young People's Concerts, for junior and senior high schools.

These Educational Concerts have given rise to annual Music Memory and Appreciation Contests. Begun for young listeners as musical sporting events, they attracted such widespread attention among parents, many of whom began to realize that their children were better informed about music than they themselves, that study classes were formed in various church, club, and P.T.A. groups, and adult teams were entered in the contests.

With the introduction of printed study material and the growing enthusiasm for children's concerts, the adult classes have increased until now hundreds of women are interested in the work. A year ago some husbands were heard from and now two evening classes are being carried on for men.

The educational Concerts of the Cleveland Orchestra are sponsored by the Women's Committee of the orchestra and are its major undertaking. It is this committee that arranges in advance efficient transportation of the groups from the various schools to Severance Hall, provides for monitor service at Severance Hall on the concert days, and handles many other details in connection with the Educational Concerts.

The Educational Concerts are intended not only for the schools of greater Cleveland, but for the suburban schools as well, 9 smaller Northern Ohio city schools having participated in the project during the orchestra's 1937-38 season when 35,291 children attended the 19 concerts in the educational series. The Cleveland Orchestra has not confined this interesting and valuable contribution in public education to Northern Ohio, for in the nineteen years of its touring, 123 children's concerts have been played in the many cities the orchestra has visited.

In Detroit the co-operation between the orchestra and the school system follows a somewhat different pattern. The 10 concerts for children, given by the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, are free, and the co-ordination with the music appreciation work in the schools is carried out under Mrs. Edith Rhett's Tilton, who is not employed by

the school authorities but holds the position of Educational Director of the orchestra. The concerts are designed for children in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades and are part of a course of studies conducted in 19 different school systems in and near Detroit. Only those schools are eligible for the distribution of free tickets which agree to provide specified work in music appreciation. The music appreciation teachers must attend a training course conducted by Mrs. Tilton and use her program of instruction. The application for free tickets must come directly from the school superintendent, thus making the participation an official activity of the school rather than an effort of the individual music supervisor. One free ticket is distributed for every four children enrolled. Since there is no charge for the tickets and there are not enough for every child, the tickets themselves must be "earned" by the children. The basis of selection of those receiving tickets is left to the individual teachers, who set up their own criteria and distribute tickets as a reward for excellence in various branches of school activity. The criteria are changed from time to time to avoid awarding tickets repeatedly to the same children. Since the attendance at each concert is 2,500 and no child goes more than once a year, about 25,000 different children attend the series each year.

The concerts are given from two to three o'clock in the afternoon during the regular orchestra season. The seats are reserved and the full staff of ushers is on hand to seat the children with the same courtesy that would be extended to an adult audience. The children are brought to the auditorium in busses provided by the city

and are returned to their schoolrooms before the busses are needed to handle the home-going rush hour. All of the schools are equipped with radio and the children who remain in the classrooms hear the same program broadcast from the auditorium. Every child who attends the concerts has been prepared by the course of study, which consists largely of listening to records of the compositions to be played at the concerts. Explanatory notes used by the teachers, and other literature for the children, are prepared by Mrs. Tilton, mimeographed and distributed free of charge by the Board of Education. Every program closes with a song that the children have learned at school. No printed programs are used, but the compositions are announced by Mrs. Tilton with brief descriptions. The remarks at the concert are reduced to a minimum in order to utilize the time primarily for listening to the music.

There has been some discussion as to the advisability of giving free children's concerts. Many people are of the opinion that free concerts teach children everything about music except the important fact that it must be supported financially by them and their community. On the other hand, free concerts possess the obvious advantage of making symphonic music available to children regardless of their ability to pay for it. The Board of Directors of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra have adopted the policy of free tickets, since they believe this educational service will enhance the value of the orchestra as a community institution and thus enlist the financial support of many who might otherwise not be interested. This decision is made possible by the fact that

the number of services for which they have contracted are otherwise not fully used and that therefore the children's concerts can be given without extra salary costs.

The only other series of free children's concerts is given in Rochester. The Rochester Civic Orchestra presents 15 concerts in the auditoriums of the various local high schools and uses 46 musicians. School concerts are an hour in length and are divided into two parts. One half-hour consists of a symphonic program presented for the students of the high school in which the concert is taking place. The second half-hour is devoted to a special music education program broadcast to all the junior high schools in the city. The concerts are in charge of a member of the music department of the school system who selects the programs, prepares the forms for the notebooks, writes the explanatory notes, and acts as commentator in the broadcasts. Attendance at the average concert numbers upwards of a thousand students.

In St. Louis and Kansas City the school boards cooperate with the orchestra to the extent of buying the concerts and providing preparatory work in their music appreciation courses, but they follow the Cleveland practice of charging admission to concerts. A similar program is being planned in Washington for the 1939-40 season. In Los Angeles the children's concerts, which have been given during the last eleven years, are designed for the elementary grades only, and preparatory classroom work is given in the schools. Admission is 10 cents and the children are taken to and from the concerts in school busses.

A number of orchestras present a series of youth con-

certs, designed mainly for young people of high-school and college age. These vary greatly as to nature, and there is usually no preparation in the schools. The Philadelphia Youth Concerts Association sponsors 5 orchestra concerts and 1 recital each season. Admission is restricted to young people from thirteen to twenty-five years old and to adults accompanying groups of children. From 3 to 6 youth concerts are given each season by the Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis orchestras. Prices for youth concerts are generally similar to those of "pops" and programs are a compromise between the regular series concerts, the "pops," and the educational aspects of children's programs. The Detroit Youth Concerts, for example, are designed "for young people of all ages" who want to learn about the orchestras and have its instruments explained to them. About 40 per cent of the audience are adults and the concerts are generally sold out. Boston established a series of 6 Youth Symphony Concerts for the first time in 1938-39. The concerts are given by 70 members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and are designed for junior and senior high-school students, particularly those studying instruments. Promotion is done primarily through the music supervisors, who receive programs and notes well in advance of the concert. The series is financed separately from the regular symphony season.

An interesting experiment in co-ordinating college credit courses with symphony concerts was attempted by the Detroit Symphony in 1936-37 and, in more re-

cent seasons, by the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra. The sponsors of the Detroit series of 8 lecture concerts included outstanding local institutions engaged in adult education. Three of these, Wayne University, University of Detroit, and Highland Park Junior College, gave credit for concert attendance in connection with music appreciation work on campus. In Pittsburgh a series of 16 concerts are given in the Carnegie Music Hall on the campus of the Carnegie Institute of Technology. Other co-operating schools are the University of Pittsburgh, Duquesne University, Mount Mercy College, and the Pennsylvania College for Women. Credit is given for attendance at 12 of the 16 concerts and the completion of the required academic work. During the 1938-39 season, approximately 450 students enrolled for the concerts in addition to a large number of adults. The sponsoring schools do not contribute to the financial support of the concerts. The concerts are about one and a half hours long, of which about one-half of the time is devoted to a lecture by John Erskine, and the remainder to the orchestra.

There is no doubt that, in terms of direct cash contribution to the budget, concerts for children and youth are the least profitable activities of symphony orchestras. But viewed in terms of community service and future audiences, they probably yield the greatest revenue. After all, a symphony orchestra cannot be viewed as a strictly commercial venture, but must be considered as an integral part of the cultural resources of the community—just as are colleges and universities, art galleries,

and museums. The place of music in our educational scheme has been well summarized by Miss Baldwin: ⁹

"Making a living, in an economic sense, is not an immediate need of childhood. Training for special trades and professions belongs to more mature years and should have a foundation of general knowledge and right attitudes.

"With all due respect to the fine vocational training offered in the upper grades of many of our schools, the fact nevertheless remains that the first and heaviest responsibility of public education is, and always will be, the building of that foundation of general knowledge and right attitudes upon which rests the security of the individual and the state.

"Making living worth while is an immediate need of childhood. It is an idea that must be planted early and tended carefully through all the growing years, and so, from the first day he enters the public schools, the child is given not only the practical tools of communication and barter—reading, writing and arithmetic—but also the keys to better ways of living. For his bodily health there is physical education; for his understanding and adjustment to the world in which he lives there are the sciences, natural and social; and for his emotional and spiritual development there are the fine arts.

"Of all the arts, music, perhaps, reaches the most people and touches them most intimately. Whether we ourselves sing or play or merely listen, we know that music is a part of life. Going back to the far-off days of the psalmist David and the philosopher Plato, records show that the wise men of all times and countries have considered music not a luxury but a necessity to public welfare. Music is civilized man's safest emotional escape valve as well as his confessional. It is the universal language that begins where words leave off. . . .

⁹ Lillian Baldwin, "Why Teach Music in Public Schools?", *Music Educators Journal*, October, 1939.

"There is yet another musical experience, less well known to those outside the schools because it is less showy than the singing and playing, but none the less important. This is what is known as musicianly listening. Thousands of school children throughout the United States are discovering that music is something more than pretty sound. They are learning that music may be the voice of a nation speaking; it may be the emotional record of a period of world history; the reflection of a famous story or the portrait of a great man done in tone. These young listeners are also learning to recognize and enjoy the many fine details of music's workmanship—details which the untrained listener misses.

"Not only are the schools teaching children *how* to sing and play and listen, but what to sing and play and listen to. The platitude 'Only the best is good enough for our children' is but an idle boast unless we definitely teach them to choose the best and to enjoy it."

Summer Seasons

Summer concert series are the most important expedient which have been developed in recent years for lengthening the term of employment for symphony orchestra players and for reaching new audiences. They differ from the other types of concert diversification in that they usually are covered by a separate union agreement. To some extent summer concerts have taken the place of the postseason barnstorming engaged in by orchestras during the heyday of touring. All 3 orchestras in Group I have summer seasons, 5 of the 8 Group II orchestras, while the National Symphony Orchestra, alone of Group III, gives summer concerts. As noted in

an earlier chapter,¹⁰ the Cincinnati "Zoo" operas, St. Louis light opera, and the San Francisco grand opera, given in the fall immediately preceding the symphony season, also employ a large number of local symphony players.

Summer seasons are usually from 6 to 8 weeks, although the Boston free Esplanade Concerts are given for only 4 weeks, while the Boston Symphony's Berkshire Festival lasts 2 weeks and includes 6 concerts. The number of concerts a week varies from 2 in Washington to 7 for the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra concerts at the Lewisohn Stadium. Admission charges are from 25 cents to \$1.50 in most series and range as high as \$1.50 to \$3 for single admissions, or \$3 to \$7.50 for subscriptions to 3 concerts in the case of the Berkshire Festival. Two series, the Boston Esplanade and the Detroit Belle Isle Concerts, are given free of charge. The Chicago Symphony Orchestra presents a six weeks' summer season at Ravinia Park which is sponsored by a group organized for that purpose, and the heaviest guarantor of which is the orchestra's own sustaining association. In addition, it presents 8 concerts as part of the free Grant Park series sponsored by the Chicago Park Board. Since the Washington "Sunset Symphonies" are presented on government property, it has been necessary to allow space for those wishing to attend the concerts without paying admission. However, reserved seats are provided at a single admission charge of from 75 cents

¹⁰ See Chapter Four, in which summer seasons were discussed from the point of view of rates of pay and their contribution to the total annual income of orchestra players.

to \$1, with a slight saving on subscriptions for 6 concerts, while other seating facilities, not reserved, are made available at from 25 cents to 50 cents.

Since the majority of these concerts are given out of doors, huge crowds can be handled. For example, the approximate seating capacity of the Hollywood Bowl and the Lewisohn Stadium is 20,000. The capacity of the covered auditorium or Music Shed of the Boston Symphony's Berkshire Festival is 5,700. Because of the large seating capacities, it has been necessary in a number of instances to resort to amplification. In the Hollywood Bowl, however, the acoustics are so excellent that audiences of 10,000 to 16,000 can hear the symphony concerts; amplification and sound systems are used only for opera performances when audiences sometimes run up to 20,000 or more. No amplification is used at the Esplanade or Berkshire concerts of the Boston Symphony. For the latter the Music Shed provides most satisfactory conditions.

The programs presented during summer seasons vary greatly. At the Berkshires, and, to a considerable extent, at the Lewisohn Stadium and Robin Hood Dell concerts, the programs resemble those of the regular season. Indeed, there seems to be a trend on the part of summer concerts as a whole to get away from the "pop" type of program and to present standard symphonic works. An important feature of summer concert programming is the extent to which soloists and other special features are used to attract the crowd. Philadelphia and Los Angeles vary their season by presenting some opera, and ballet and dance groups are being used in-

creasingly. The popular type of artist with box-office appeal is interspersed between younger and lesser known artists to attract the large summer crowds. Guest conductors are used to a considerable degree. Audiences of 5,000 to 10,000 are common at many summer series and much larger crowds turn out for special attractions.

Because amplification must be used in some instances and the conditions under which the concerts are presented are not ideal, the quality of tone in most summer concerts is not that of performances given in the regular auditoriums. Nevertheless, these concerts represent a great wealth of musical enjoyment which has been made available to masses of people at reasonable prices and under pleasant and informal conditions. To thousands, who may be unable to pay the regular season prices, summer concerts have represented almost the only opportunity to both see and hear a symphony orchestra. To others they may serve as an introduction to symphonic music and an awakening of interest which may bring them to the orchestra's regular series. Attendance at summer concerts throughout the country is one of the most spectacular indications of the hold that symphonic music has taken upon the public and of the huge potential audience which might be reached through other forms of orchestra service.

The management of summer series concerts often is not the same as that of the regular season. At various times they have been given by what amounted to a subsidiary of the orchestras, by entirely separate organizations, and, in a few instances, co-operatively by the men. While the most satisfactory arrangement remains to be

worked out, it can at least be said that co-operative management has proven a failure because of lack of expert and professional direction. The variety of managements and the degree to which they have changed from year to year has made it impossible to make a detailed study of these enterprises. It appears, however, that in recent years an occasional summer season has been self-financing, and that, on the whole, operating deficits are relatively smaller than for the regular season. In the case of the free concerts, municipal and state support have sometimes been provided. The Grant Park Concerts of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra are paid for by the Park board; the City of Detroit has at various times contributed all or part of the cost of the Belle Isle summer season; and the State of Massachusetts makes a small contribution to the Esplanade Concerts. In all cases, summer deficits are financed by private contributions.

While several seasons ago a number of symphony orchestras attempted to combine opera with their other activities, this was generally unsuccessful because of the high expense involved.

EIGHT

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS

GOVERNMENT support of music has long been traditional in many European countries. It is relatively new in the United States, however, and has been on a small scale until the advent of the Federal Music Project. In a few instances, state, county, or municipal governments have contributed to the support of symphony orchestras either by maintaining orchestras, by small contributions to the budget, or by the purchase of concerts. This support has been given to music as an art and not as a relief or employment expedient. The Federal Music Project, on the other hand, has been primarily a relief agency on a nation-wide scale, but it has built up and supported complete symphony orchestras, as well as a wide variety of other performing and teaching units. While recognizing the importance of the relief aspects of the Federal Music Project, this survey is interested in it primarily for its contribution to the development of symphonic music.

State, County, and Municipal Support

Only two American communities have followed the practice of supporting orchestras. Long Beach, California, maintains a Woman's Symphony Orchestra on a year-round basis, partly as a community service and partly as a promotional device. The orchestra was established in 1925. It has 120 members and presents a season of 5 regular symphony concerts, with about an equal number of popular concerts and frequent out-of-town appearances. No charge is made for admission. The city does not make public the amount spent on maintaining this organization.

The city of Baltimore has a municipally supported orchestra which was established in 1915 and is under the supervision of a Municipal Department of Music. The entire cost of the orchestra, amounting to about \$34,000, is a part of the city budget, and the income from concerts, amounting to about 25 per cent of the cost of maintaining the orchestra, goes directly to the city. The orchestra ranges from 85 to 95 members, depending on the program to be played. The men are paid on a per-concert-and-rehearsal basis. The season schedule includes 6 adult and 5 young people's concerts. The price range for the regular concerts is 25 cents to \$1. Tickets are not sold by subscription in order to avoid restricting the enjoyment of this public service to a few season ticket holders. No more than 6 tickets can be sold to one person. Concerts are given in the Lyric Theater, with a capacity of 2,700, and usually to sold-out houses. In char-

acter and quality the orchestra is probably comparable to some of the more ambitious secondary orchestras and has the usual handicaps arising from a personnel paid on a per-concert basis. The city feels that the present scope of activities is appropriate for a municipal undertaking and there is little likelihood that the orchestra will attempt to develop into a major symphony with a full season schedule of concerts and with the men paid by the week. Children's concerts are given in conjunction with the school system. The Municipal Department of Music also supports the City Colored Orchestra, an amateur and recreational project which became a municipal project in 1931, a chorus, and provides summer band concerts.

Contributions to the budgets of privately operated symphony orchestras are made by several government units. The State of Massachusetts, for example, contributes \$5,000 to the Boston Symphony Orchestra to assist in defraying the cost of the free Esplanade Concerts. These concerts are given on state property, and the Edward Hatch Memorial Shell, now in process of construction, has been designed especially with a view to these symphony concerts, although it can be used for other purposes. The State of Vermont appropriates \$1,000 to the support of the Vermont Symphony Orchestra. The City of Detroit has contributed to the costs of the free summer concerts of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, given on Belle Isle. For a period of seven years the city paid the entire cost, but left the management in the hands of the orchestra. For four years during the depression these concerts were discontinued, but

they were thereafter revived, with the city contributing a part of the cost and the orchestra management raising the balance.

The County of Los Angeles contributes \$7,500 toward the Hollywood Bowl concerts of the Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles. This is not called a public subsidy but is recognized as part of the publicity program of the county. The City of Pasadena contributes toward the maintenance of the Civic Orchestra which gives 6 concerts a season, free to the public. Kansas City may be said to contribute indirectly to the Kansas City Symphony Orchestra in that it makes the Municipal Auditorium available for concerts at a very low rental. While the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce is not a part of the city government, it seems appropriate to call attention here to its considerable contribution in the form of office space and clerical service for the orchestra management.

Support in the form of the purchase of concerts is also practiced in Kansas City where the municipality guarantees 3 concerts a year to be given to the school children. Five concerts are bought by the St. Louis Board of Education, to be given in local high schools. Occasionally the board also purchases special concerts for conventions of educators or other similar groups.

The most important instance of the purchase of concerts is in San Francisco. Since 1935 the orchestra has received annually about \$33,000 to \$35,000 as payment for 10 concerts. Even earlier the city had bought 3 or 4 concerts from the Musical Association, which supports the symphony, at a cost of about \$5,000 a year. In 1934,

after a period of financial difficulty, the orchestra was discontinued and it became apparent that if the symphony musicians were to be employed for a season of concerts, a larger measure of assistance would be required from the city. An amendment to the city charter calling for a one-half-cent tax per hundred dollars to provide symphony concerts at low prices was put to a vote in 1935 and was passed by more than two to one. The proposal was supported by the local musicians' union and by the newspapers.

Since the city is legally forbidden to subsidize any private organization, the proceeds of this tax must be used not as a direct contribution to the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, but rather for the purchase of concerts. This means that the city is actually in the concert business, which it conducts through the Music Committee of the City Art Commission. Though the one-half-cent tax on the basis of present assessed valuation of San Francisco yields about \$42,000, the net amount available for concerts is reduced by the cost of promotion, advertising, fees to assisting artists, and the expenses of the Music Committee.

While the city agrees to buy 10 concerts, there is usually an eleventh. For this the orchestra receives any balance of the tax appropriation and net proceeds of ticket sales, which cannot be kept by the city but must be plowed back into the orchestra. Admission for this concert is free.

On the basis of subscription prices, admissions to the city concerts range from 20 to 80 cents per concert, while single admission prices are about 20 per cent

higher. These prices are to be compared with a range of 50 cents to \$2.50 for the regular Friday afternoon concerts, and 50 cents to \$1.50 for the Saturday night concerts sponsored by the Musical Association. The 2 regular series are given in the War Memorial Auditorium, with a capacity of 3,500, while the city series are held in the Civic Center Auditorium, seating 6,000.

The city concerts are more "popular" than the regular series. The programs include more of the shorter symphonic works, and encores are permitted. The Art Commission selects its own assisting artists and guest conductors, but they have found it to their advantage to select big box-office names. Representative artists in the city series include Leopold Stokowski, Grace Moore, and Nino Martini.

Several problems have arisen in the administration of this plan. During the first year it was felt that the low-priced municipal concerts were in too close competition with the regular symphony concerts sponsored by the Music Association, but in recent years this difficulty seems to have been overcome. Three or 4 very popular concerts are given on city money, one invariably with the Municipal Chorus, others with popular soloists, and usually 6 performances with the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe. A criticism that much community money goes to pay the fees of expensive popular artists and the Russian Ballet rather than for the support of the local symphony is answered by the fact that these concerts pay very well and that the proceeds are put to providing other concerts at low prices to the public. The availability of municipal money may have increased somewhat the difficulty of

raising the orchestra's maintenance fund from private sources. On the whole, however, the present arrangement has helped to break down the idea that the symphony is supported by a small clique and has made it rather an object of community pride.

The Federal Music Project

The Federal Music Project represents government support of music on a colossal scale. It was formed in July, 1935, as a unit of the Works Progress Administration, to employ and rehabilitate unemployed musicians and to enable them to retain their skill until their return to private employment. The majority of musicians employed by the project had been on relief rolls. Only skilled musicians were eligible for this form of relief and their qualifications were usually passed upon by audition boards of nonrelief musicians.

The project has established a wide variety of musical services—teaching units, choral and opera units, chamber music ensembles, dance orchestras, bands, concert and symphony orchestras. In developing the program, first consideration was given to the number of needy musicians in the community and the kind of unit that might be established. Many musicians were taken from labor jobs, to which they had been assigned, and given an opportunity to retain their professional skill. The project accepted not only older musicians, who had been thrown out of employment, but also youngsters fresh from their conservatory or other training and unable to find jobs. In order to complete the instrumentation for various

units, particularly concert and symphony orchestras, the project has followed the principle of engaging necessary nonrelief musicians, subject to certain quota regulations. As of August 31, 1936, nonrelief musicians represented about 10 per cent of all those employed by the project, and about 16.5 per cent of those in symphony orchestras. This was later reduced to 5 per cent nonrelief personnel for the project as a whole. The proportion of nonrelief players in the symphony units remained somewhat higher and these men were largely "first-chair" players, who were brought in at higher-than-relief wages, not only to play but also to help train the other members.

The policy of charging admission was adopted in March, 1936, in order to avoid creating the impression that music does not need to be privately supported. Furthermore, the project was committed to the theory that unless people themselves want music sufficiently to be willing to pay for it, the problem of the musicians' future employment cannot be solved. Admissions have usually ranged from 25 to 40 cents, or 55 cents for regular symphony concerts, and 10 to 15 cents for children's and school concerts. A great number of free concerts have been given, however, principally school and outdoor summer concerts. In some cases there have been complaints against the admission charges on the ground that the public already has been taxed to support them. This argument has been answered by calling attention to the fact that communities without Federal Music Project orchestras also bear part of the tax burden, and that audiences therefore can justifiably be charged for the privilege of hearing them.

On the whole the Federal Music Project symphony orchestras cannot be said to compete with orchestras which already have been established. The project has tried to keep out of communities where it might encourage local private sponsors to drop their support of existing orchestras, although in a few instances it is possible that for one reason or another the Federal Music Project orchestra may have put a struggling secondary organization out of business. In large cities, where well-established private orchestras exist, the project orchestras have aimed at audiences not already reached by the existing organization.

Scope of Federal Symphony Orchestra Activities

From the beginning of its public program in October, 1935, to August, 1939, the Federal Music Project had cost \$50,463,000. At the time of the greatest employment, in November, 1936, the project had 15,381 musicians on the rolls of nearly 700 projects. At that time there were 36 symphony orchestras. As of April 1, 1939, total employment of the project was 9,582, of whom 1,957, or a little more than 20 per cent, were in the 28 orchestras of symphonic caliber then in existence, as shown in Table X. Up to April 1, 1939, the project had given 202,486 performances, of which 16,707 were those of its symphony orchestras. Its total attendance had been 132,255,000, of which about 12,500,000, or nearly 10 per cent, were for symphony concerts, as indicated in Table XI. This means that throughout the entire history of the project, symphony audiences have averaged about 750

per concert, although there have been wide variations, and some of the paid audiences have been as large as 7,000.

TABLE X. EMPLOYMENT IN THE FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT: APRIL 1, 1939

<i>Type of Unit</i>	<i>Number of Projects</i>	<i>Employment</i>
Symphony Orchestras	28	1,957
Concert Orchestras	91	2,049
Bands—Concert and Military	67	2,024
Dance Orchestras and Bands	52	604
Chamber Music Ensembles	18	162
Opera Units	9	528
Choral Groups	22	402
Soloists—Instrumental and Vocal ..	1	11
Teaching Units (429 Centers).....	74	969
Copyists—Arrangers—Librarians, etc.	13	169
Administrative Units	36	707
<i>Total</i>	411	9,582

TABLE XI. NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES AND ATTENDANCE FOR THE FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT FROM INCEPTION TO APRIL 1, 1939

<i>Type of Unit</i>	<i>Performances</i>	<i>Attendance</i>
Symphony Orchestras	16,707	12,484,532
Concert Orchestras	53,366	37,591,040
Bands—Concert and Military ...	42,452	40,099,219
Dance Orchestras and Bands ...	42,004	20,466,242
Chamber Music Ensembles	9,010	4,489,112
Opera Units	745	517,860
Choral Groups	11,993	699,862
Soloists—Instrumental and Vocal	1,675	259,480
Students' Performances	24,534	9,347,838
<i>Total</i>	202,486	132,255,185

In the spring of 1939, the 28 federal symphony orchestras ranged in size from 42 to 110 members and averaged 65 players. Those in the larger cities were about the same size as the major symphony orchestras located there. The two project orchestras in New York City, for example, had 97 and 101 members; the Federal Symphony of Northern California in San Francisco, 105; the Los Angeles Federal Symphony Number One, 83; and the Illinois Federal Symphony of Chicago, 80.

In addition to the relief and nonrelief musicians on the project payrolls, some of these orchestras were augmented by musicians paid by a sponsoring organization for either a series of concerts or single concerts. In some cases extra musicians were paid by the local musicians' union or by municipal groups such as park boards. If these extra musicians are included, the average size of the Federal Music Project orchestras is brought up to 69. The Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra Society adds 12 men to the Federal Music Project group of 67 to form the Buffalo Orchestra of 79 members, giving a series of 12 regular concerts. The San Diego Symphony Orchestra Association adds 40 men to the San Diego Federal Orchestra, creating an orchestra of 80 players, principally for its series of summer concerts. The Oklahoma Federal Symphony is augmented by 12 men paid by the Oklahoma State Symphony Society, making a total of 91 for the concerts sponsored by the society in 20 communities in the state. In Milwaukee, the Wisconsin Federal Symphony Orchestra is occasionally increased by 30 members to make a total of 100 players. The additional cost is borne by different sponsoring associations, some-

times by the park board, while the local musicians' union contributes \$400 to the salaries of these players. In Syracuse the cost of the additional 10 to 14 men is met by the Syracuse Symphony Committee and by a \$500 contribution from the local union. In Albany and Detroit the union also contributes toward extra players.

Sponsorship may go beyond augmenting the personnel of the orchestra and include payments for guest artists, advertising, and promotion, increasing the salary of the conductor, and for hall rental. Under these circumstances, the sponsoring organization to a large extent performs the functions of the usual sustaining association of a privately maintained orchestra. Indeed, a few of these joint ventures are looking forward to eventual evolution into private organizations supported by their own communities without federal assistance.

Buffalo is probably the best example of joint federal and community sponsorship of an orchestra. Until the fall of 1939, the orchestra as a whole operated on a composite budget, the Philharmonic Society guaranteeing approximately \$11,000 annually. This sum was subscribed by approximately 100 persons contributing from \$25 to \$1,000 each. The Federal Music Project paid the salaries of 67 men, while the society stood the cost of 12 additional players, assisting artists, advertising, music, and a portion of hall rental. During the first year, the society agreed to provide the extra men and to pay them at the union scale for rehearsals and concerts. They were engaged for only 3 or 4 rehearsals per concert, while the project men rehearsed much more frequently. After the first year, this method was found unsatisfactory and the

society decided to employ the 12 men on a regular six-month salary basis. As a special concession from the union, the society was allowed to pay these men the same wages and to ask the same hours as those in force on the project.

In Buffalo, the concerts sponsored partly by the society are priced at from 40 cents to \$1.25. The society retains 60 per cent of the ticket receipts, the federal government 40 per cent. The closest and most friendly co-operation has existed between the project and the society, as is exemplified by the assistance which the project has been able to render the society in its dealings with various labor unions. The Buffalo Orchestra seems to have a fair chance of eventually negotiating the shift to complete private sponsorship.¹

Not all adventures in joint sponsorship have been as successful as Buffalo. In Hartford, after a period of joint sponsorship, co-operation was discontinued by the local organization. The federal unit was abandoned and the sponsoring association undertook to do a limited series of concerts without governmental aid. During the 1937-38 season, 4 regular concerts were presented, as against the previous 8 under joint sponsorship, though at a materially reduced total cost. Conflicting personalities, excessive governmental red tape and regulations—which seem to have been greatly modified in later joint ventures—and general lack of community sympathy with all phases of the Works Progress Administration seem to have been responsible for the failure of the joint undertaking. The

¹ Since the reorganization of all WPA music activities in September, 1939, the orchestra has made the shift to private sponsorship.

Hartford Symphony Orchestra is now being maintained by the Connecticut Symphony Society and an attempt is being made to organize its service on a regional basis covering the entire state.

Partial Sponsorship by Cities and Local Political Units

In some cases sponsorship is provided by the city government or other local political units rather than by a private organization. For example, Springfield, Massachusetts, provides rehearsal space and other facilities amounting to about \$1,800. The City of Bridgeport, Connecticut, contributes about \$2,000 in the form of reduction in auditorium rental and in facilities for summer concerts. In many communities it would be impossible for the project to rent suitable auditoriums because of their limited funds for that purpose. Joint sponsorship, in the form of adequate auditorium facilities, has been an invaluable assistance in several cases. The Minnesota Federal Symphony Orchestra receives from the University of Minnesota, the Minneapolis Board of Education, and the St. Paul Board of Education the equivalent of about \$5,000 in rent, light, and heat.

Sponsorship of Individual Concerts

Another important form of joint sponsorship is a guarantee of individual concerts by an organization. This form usually applies to out-of-town concerts of Federal Music Project orchestras and covers the cost of transportation, subsistence, and the payment of extra non-

project personnel. In addition to the guarantee of expenses the orchestra usually receives a percentage of the ticket receipts—40 or 50 per cent. The local organization bears the cost of promotion. It is noteworthy that the groups sponsoring these concerts are of a great variety and include the Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs, Parent-Teachers' Associations, American Legion Posts, and various fraternal organizations—to whom the sponsorship of symphony concerts is a new departure—as well as schools and colleges such as Bennington, The University of Chicago, Dartmouth, Ohio State University, Temple University.

Services Provided

In many cases the Federal Music Project orchestras provide as varied services as private symphony orchestras and they sometimes go even further. The 28 orchestras that were in operation during 1938 gave a total of 2,096 concerts during the year, the average number for each orchestra being 75. About a quarter of these were regular symphony concerts, a third were concerts given in schools, about a tenth, summer concerts, and the rest divided among out-of-town engagements, opera accompaniments, popular and other concerts, as shown in Table XII. The number of concerts varied widely, from 22 a year in Jacksonville, Florida, to 155 for the Oklahoma Federal Symphony Orchestra. Some of the better known orchestras, like the New York Federal and Civic orchestras, gave a moderate number of concerts—58 during the year—but limited them to a great extent to regu-

lar adult symphony concerts. The Los Angeles Federal Orchestra Number One gave 61, and the Number Two Orchestra, 87 concerts; the Northern California Federal Symphony Orchestra of San Francisco and Oakland gave 52, the Grand Rapids unit, 70, and the Wisconsin, 76.

TABLE XII. NUMBER AND KINDS OF CONCERTS OF 28
FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS:
1938

<i>Kind of Concert</i>	<i>Total Concerts</i>	<i>Average Number of Concerts</i>	<i>Per Cent Total</i>
Regular	559	20	26.6
Children's	41	2	2.0
School	698	25	33.2
Out-of-town	182	7	8.7
Opera Accompaniment..	170	6	8.1
Popular	77	3	3.7
Summer	214	7	10.2
Other	155	5	7.5
<i>Total Concerts</i>	2,096	75	100.0
Specially Prepared			
Broadcasts	255	9	...
<i>Total Services</i>	2,351	84	...

If the 255 specially prepared radio broadcasts are included, the total number of services of the federal symphony orchestras is increased to 2,351, and the average per orchestra to 84. In addition, 91 of the regular concerts were broadcast.

The federal orchestras' most important deviation from the practice of private symphony orchestras is the large proportion of concerts for children given in the public

schools. This is possible because the federal orchestras are not dependent upon box-office receipts. The concerts given on tour are especially important in view of the fact that they reach many small communities which could not possibly afford to bring in one of the privately supported orchestras. Most of the federal symphonies travel within a small radius, though a few cover a wide area. The Oklahoma orchestra, for example, gives programs in 20 communities within the state.

There has been very little variation in the types of services offered since the project orchestras were organized, except that the proportion of regular concerts has declined slightly.

The average attendance of 700 to 750 at symphony concerts during the history of the Federal Music Project has been considerably affected by the large audiences drawn by the outstanding orchestras. Where the caliber of the orchestra is high and the programs tend toward the established classical repertoire, audiences are largest. The best Federal Music Project orchestras have audiences comparable to those of the best secondary orchestras. For the smaller units audiences range from 300 to 500 in most instances. In San Francisco, concerts in the Municipal Auditorium, with a token admission price of 10 cents, have drawn as many as 7,000 persons. Audiences for the opera performances accompanied by the Commonwealth Orchestra in Boston run as high as 2,500. Detroit, Denver, and Oklahoma Federal orchestras frequently have audiences of over 1,000. Audiences for summer concerts are usually much larger than those of regular concerts, and the out-of-door concerts especially

TABLE XIII. NUMBER AND KINDS OF CONCERTS GIVEN BY 28 FEDERAL SYMPHONY ORCHESTRES—
TRAS: 1938

Orchestra	NUMBER OF CONCERTS											Specially Prepared Radio Broadcasts	Total Services
	Reg- ular	Chil- dren's	Concerts at Schools	Out of Town	Opera Accom- pani- ment	Pop- ular	Sum- mer	Other Concerts	Total Concerts				
Albany Federal	9	..	12	12	..	..	22	..	55	48	103
Bridgeport Federal	43	..	21	11	..	..	46	..	121	..	121
Buffalo Federal	12	2	20	4	..	4	17	2	61	..	61		
Commonwealth Federal (Boston)	7	..	33	10	50	..	..	..	100	..	100
Denver Federal	22	8	19	17	..	28	8	..	102	15	117		
Detroit Federal	31	..	20	4	..	..	8	..	63	46	109
Essex Co. Federal (Lynn, Mass.)	20	..	34	5	..	..	9	1	68	..	68
Federal Civic (New York)	49	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	58	1	59
Federal Symphony (Cleveland)	5	..	76	..	4	..	..	..	85	..	85
Fed. Sym. of N. J. (Newark)	21	..	7	2	8	..	5	..	43	..	43		
Fed. Sym. of New York City	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	58	1	59
Fed. Sym. No. Calif. (San F.)	31	1	6	4	1	7	1	1	52	..	52		
Fla. Fed. Sym. (Jacksonville)	3	1	..	16	..	..	..	2	22	..	22
Grand Rapids Federal	7	1	36	6	..	..	20	..	70	..	70
Ill. Fed. (Chicago)	69	..	22	3	..	..	19	..	113	..	113
Los Angeles Federal #1	12	..	3	..	37	..	2	7	61	1	62		
Los Angeles Federal #2	3	..	6	..	4	..	1	73	87	..	87		
Minn. Fed. (Minn. & St. Paul)	12	6	80	9	..	29	9	8	153	5	158		
Okla. Fed. (Okla. City)	25	20	55	15	..	3	10	27	155	..	155		
Philadelphia Federal	46	..	8	..	..	..	6	3	63	51	114
Pittsburgh Federal	12	..	26	8	..	..	5	..	51	39	90
Providence Federal	14	2	24	7	..	2	..	..	49	45	94
San Bernardino Federal	9	..	21	..	10	..	7	..	47	..	47		
San Diego Federal	17	..	12	..	56	..	..	..	73	3	76
Springfield Fed. (Mass.)	3	..	95	6	..	..	..	..	104	..	104
State Sym. (Boston)	8	..	9	14	..	..	7	..	38	..	38
Syracuse Federal	9	..	22	18	..	..	6	1	56	..	56
Wisconsin Fed. (Milwaukee)	18	..	31	11	..	4	6	6	76	..	76		

often draw several thousand. Summer audiences in Chicago run to 5,000, and in Newark, 10,000. For summer concerts of the Wisconsin Federal Orchestra, sponsored by the Milwaukee Park Board and engaging outstanding soloists, the Federal Music Project has claimed audiences of 50,000.

Attention has been called frequently to the large number of American compositions performed by the federal orchestras. A compilation in February, 1939, showed that over 5,000 American works had been played since the inception of the project. Although only a comparatively few of these may have been worth-while additions to permanent orchestra repertoire, the opportunity has been given to many native composers to hear their own works and to learn from their actual performance. While the orchestras vary considerably in the extent to which they present native works, taken as a whole slightly more than one composition in every seven is by an American composer. Nevertheless, the established classics remain the foundation of most programs and average more than two-thirds of the compositions played. All in all, audiences have been larger and steadier for the more conventional programs, but a few orchestras such as the Los Angeles Federal Symphony Number One, and the Grand Rapids Federal Symphony Orchestra, which play one American composition in every four, have also had relatively good audiences. The size of the audience, of course, has depended not only upon the programs but upon the quality of the orchestra.

The Federal Music Project has no money for soloists or assisting artists. When soloists appear on federal sym-

phony programs, they either donate their services or are paid by a sponsor. About 70 per cent of the regular concerts, and about half of all symphony concerts, present soloists. Only about a fifth of the concerts given in schools do so. Most of the artists appearing with these orchestras are relatively young and unknown and give their services gratis in return for which, of course, they gain the experience and advertising value of a public performance. With a few of the larger orchestras, notably in New York, some of the well-known artists have also appeared without pay. Usually the popular and expensive box-office artists are engaged by sponsoring organizations.

Budgets and Income

While detailed financial data are not available for all of the 28 federal orchestras which were in operation during 1938, information for 20 of them indicates that the average annual fifty-two-week budget was about \$84,000, and the total cost of the 20 orchestras was about \$1,686,000. Personnel costs represented 92 per cent of these amounts, and administration 4.4 per cent, as shown in Table XIV. The rates of pay are on a weekly basis, regardless of the number of concerts. A wide range in the cost of these orchestras, therefore, resulted from difference in size. Budgets varied from a little over \$40,000 to about \$135,000. The average cost per concert in 1938 was \$1,127, slightly below that of the privately supported secondary orchestras in Group IV. The cost per concert varied widely with the number given per year.

Some of the larger orchestras, which limit themselves primarily to a moderate number of well-rehearsed regular symphony concerts, have a per-concert cost of something over \$2,000—about that of 1 or 2 of the Group III major symphony orchestras. In communities where only a few concerts can be given, the cost per concert is high even for a relatively small orchestra—\$3,000 in the case of one orchestra. Where a large number and variety of concerts, including school and out-of-town concerts, are given, the cost per concert may be as low as \$700, or even \$500, for a reasonably large orchestra.

TABLE XIV. AVERAGE BUDGET OF 20 FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT ORCHESTRAS: 1938

	<i>Expense</i>		<i>Per Cent</i>
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Total</i>
Personnel (Including			
Conductors) ..	\$1,551,832	\$77,590	92.0
Conductors .....	.....	3,550 ^a	...
Players .....	.....	74,040	...
Hall Rental	15,350	768	.9
Advertising	19,629	987	1.2
Music Purchase and			
Rental	11,609	580	.7
Administration	73,366	3,668	4.4
Miscellaneous ^b	14,131	702	.8
<i>Total</i>	\$1,685,917	\$84,295	100.0

^a For 18 orchestras only.

^b Principally equipment, travel, postage, etc.

For players who are on the Federal Music Project payroll, "security" wages vary relatively little, from

\$19.25 to \$23.50 per week. The nonrelief players whom the project may have had to employ to complete the unit, or who may be engaged by sponsor organizations, are usually paid at higher rates. If the compensation of federal orchestra symphony players is reduced to a per-concert basis, it is usually comparable to that received by the members of many secondary orchestras who are paid by concert and rehearsal. The annual wage for federal symphony musicians in 1938 ranged from about \$1,000 to \$1,400. Compensation for conductors on the Federal Music Project payroll ranged from about \$30 to \$62.50 per week, or \$1,560 to \$3,250 annually. Where sponsoring organizations exist, they may provide additional compensation for conductors.

The cost of maintaining the Federal Music Project symphony orchestras is met by federal appropriation. Additional sums received by the orchestras from concert receipts amount to about 5.7 per cent of the federal appropriation and are credited to the United States Treasury.

Re-employment of Musicians

To a large extent the ranks of the Federal Music Project symphony orchestras are made up of two classes of players—older men whom depression, technological development, and advancing age have thrown out of regular employment, and the younger musicians who have not yet had opportunity for professional experience. For the younger group, the federal orchestras have served as a valuable training ground. Evidence of this is found in

the fact that 266 members of the 28 symphonies in operation in 1938 have been re-employed by private organizations; 48 of these now hold positions in major symphony orchestras, 6 in secondary orchestras, 32 in station and network radio orchestras, and 160 in various other fields.

It is not within the province of this study to evaluate the Federal Music Project, since the project as a whole is primarily a relief agency and even in its symphonic activities largely retains this aspect. Neither is it possible to appraise the artistic accomplishments of all of the symphonic units. It is probably safe to say that a few of the orchestras located in centers where a large supply of competent musicians is available maintain a repertoire and standard of performance comparable to those of the best secondary orchestras, or even some of the younger major orchestras. In some cities these concerts are taken seriously by the newspaper critics who have shown a great deal of interest in their development.

Certain definite contributions of the Federal Music Project to the development of symphonic music, however, are undeniable. The school concerts, on a scale which would have been impossible for other orchestras, have brought an interest in good music to thousands of children and through them to many adults. It is reasonable to expect that this may bear fruit in the future in the form of a greater appreciation and support of symphonic music. Concerts in out-of-the-way places, especially smaller communities, have brought actual orchestras to many who otherwise would have had knowledge of symphonic music only through the radio or records.

In the larger centers, especially, the project's low prices have placed symphonic concerts within the reach of many who could not afford the regular concerts of established orchestras. To some extent the project symphonic units have recruited new audiences for the older orchestras. By breaking down the barriers of social exclusiveness and artistic snobbery, they have awakened the interest of large groups of the public which have been indifferent to symphony concerts hitherto. Where joint sponsorship of private organizations has been practiced on what amounts to a season basis, and where the cooperation between the government and the community has been intelligent and forward looking, the Federal Music Project has undoubtedly aided in bringing into being symphony orchestras which may even be able to survive after the project is discontinued. Viewed realistically, however, it is probable that only a few of them could be carried over on a permanent, privately financed basis.

Since September 1, 1939, the program of the Federal Music Project has been reorganized under the provisions of a new WPA appropriations act whereby projects must now be sponsored locally with the sponsors contributing a part of the cost. It has been estimated by the WPA authorities that sufficient community support had been forthcoming to continue the projects at about 90 per cent of their former level. All of the projects are set up on a state-wide basis, usually with one principal sponsor, although in some instances cosponsors assist with the development of projects within individual communities. The principal sponsors that have come forward thus far

are public agencies, such as state boards of education, state relief administrations, state universities, departments of education, and city governments. Sponsors' contributions may consist of cash, or equivalents, in supervision, materials, facilities, and quarters. Since these are still relief projects, the planning is on a temporary basis.

A number of proposals have been made for continuing the work of the Federal Music Project in some permanent form. Some of these, such as the Pepper-Coffee Bill, have been criticized on the ground that they would continue the relief aspects of the music and other art projects and would in effect establish a pension system of those who, with or without proper qualifications, were employed as artists and musicians by the federal government. Other proposals, such as a plan offered by Dr. Walter Damrosch, seek to establish a federal department of fine arts through which the government can contribute to the support of worthy artistic projects divorced from relief considerations. The possibility of greater reliance upon government, whether municipal or federal, for the support of symphony orchestras is indissociable from the whole question of sources of non-operating income and is considered more fully in a later chapter.

NINE

INCREASING THE OPERATING INCOME

SYMPHONY orchestras are part of the cultural resources of the community, as are schools and colleges, museums and art galleries. Their services, therefore, must be shaped toward the requirements of the community. Nevertheless, they are not absolved, any more than are these other public institutions, from the obligation of being run in a businesslike manner and from an effort to obtain as much of their income as possible from the sale of their services to those who use them, thereby reducing to a minimum the financial burden which must be carried by others.

The ability to meet a large proportion of costs from operating income is not only the greatest assurance of financial stability and continued existence, but also one of the soundest criteria of the extent to which a symphony orchestra is providing services wanted by the public and is therefore deserving of additional support. The inevitable dependence of all orchestras upon some degree of deficit financing has often placed the emphasis of managements and supporting organizations upon non-operating income and has overshadowed the possibility

of building up earned income through more thorough merchandising of orchestra services. Merchandising is a term which has been used increasingly in business during the past several decades and implies the adaptation of a product or service to the needs and desires of the potential market through careful research and analysis, the setting up of adequate facilities for bringing it to the consumer, and the development and execution of a promotional program which will present the product to the public in as impelling a manner as possible. Though the use of the term has usually been limited to trade, the activities involved must necessarily be practiced by any enterprise which depends to some extent upon public patronage, whether operated for profit or not.

The Market for Symphony Concerts

Unfortunately there are few data available upon which to base satisfactory estimates of the number of people attending symphony concerts. It is known that in 1937-38 the major symphony orchestras had about 2,750,000 paid admissions during their regular seasons, and it is estimated, on the basis of a fairly representative sample, that the many secondary symphony orchestras probably had a combined audience of between 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 persons. The records of the Federal Music Project show that from its inception in October, 1936, to August 1, 1939, approximately 12,500,000 attended the concerts of its symphonic units, or about 5,000,000 a year. While the total extent of summer audience is anybody's guess, the figure may be as high as 2,000,000 for

a single year. A broadcast of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra is estimated to reach as many as 10,000,000 listeners.

In spite of these large figures, it must be borne in mind that the number of individuals attending symphony concerts is a much smaller total. For example, the large proportion of total admissions to major orchestra concerts represented by season subscribers probably reduces the total number of individuals attending them to less than half a million. The size of the radio and summer audiences suggests the existence of a large potential market for symphony concerts, which is not yet being exploited. A greater knowledge of the extent and characteristics of this potential market for symphony concerts would be of inestimable value to symphony orchestras in planning the types of services to be offered and the conditions under which they can be made attractive to as many people as possible.

Although it has been beyond the scope of this study to engage in the extensive consumer research regarding the characteristics of the potential audience, limited surveys of actual audiences suggest some interesting conclusions as to why people attend symphony concerts. Even these must be considered as purely experimental in that their results apply mainly to the communities studied and are merely indicative of the type of information that more comprehensive surveys might yield. Surveys were made by means of questionnaires distributed to audiences at concerts. In Los Angeles, 869 questionnaires were returned, and in Grand Rapids, 1,009. A similar survey was made in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and, although the

results generally confirmed those secured in the other cities, the sample was too small for statistical treatment.¹ In Grand Rapids, 64 per cent of the questionnaires were returned by subscribers, and 36 per cent by nonsubscribers; in Los Angeles, 59 per cent by subscribers, and 41 per cent by nonsubscribers.

The symphony audience, as revealed by the Grand Rapids and Los Angeles surveys, is a comparatively young one. The median age of concert goers in Grand Rapids was twenty-seven years, and thirty-three years in Los Angeles. Subscribers for the comparatively expensive Los Angeles regular series were considerably older than those buying single admissions, with a median age of thirty-eight years, as compared to twenty-nine years for nonsubscribers. The lower median age of nonsubscribers suggests that many younger members of the community cannot afford the price of a season subscription and therefore are limited to the purchase of single tickets. The generally lower median age of the Grand Rapids audience, and the very slight difference between subscribers and nonsubscribers, may be explained partly by the low cost of a series ticket—\$7 for 7 concerts—and by the fact that 1,000 season tickets are distributed through the Board of Education to students at \$1 for the season. Women comprised 70 per cent of those answering questionnaires in Grand Rapids, and 74 per cent in Los Angeles. Virtually all of the audience in both cities had attended high school, while 49 per cent of the Grand Rapids concert goers, and 72 per cent of the Los Angeles

¹ See Appendix C for the questionnaire used in the surveys. Because of limited funds, only the simplest tabulations have been made.

audience had attended college. Ten per cent of those answering in Grand Rapids had pursued postgraduate studies, and 27 per cent in Los Angeles.

Students represented the largest group in the Grand Rapids audience—21 per cent. Other important occupational groups answering the questionnaire were housewives, 14 per cent; clerical workers, 12 per cent; teachers, 10 per cent; semiprofessional workers, 8 per cent; professional people, 5 per cent; salesmen, 7 per cent; and semi- and unskilled workers, 4 per cent. There was very little difference in the occupations of subscribers and nonsubscribers. In Los Angeles the occupational group having the highest representation was housewives, with 24 per cent. Students ranked second with 19 per cent, and teachers third with 15 per cent. Other important groups were semiprofessional workers, 11 per cent; clerical workers, 7 per cent; and professional people and salesmen, 3 per cent each. Persons who had retired also represented 3 per cent of those answering the questionnaire. Approximately 90 per cent of the audience were native-born Americans in Los Angeles, and 96 per cent in Grand Rapids, while in both cities 60 per cent were of American parentage. No particular national group was outstanding among the parents of these concert audiences, beyond the natural racial distribution of the community.

The great majority of these audiences have had some education in music, for only 12 per cent reported that they had had none. Seventy-four per cent of those answering questionnaires in both cities had had instrumental instruction, principally piano. In Grand Rapids, 44 per

cent, and in Los Angeles, 57 per cent had taken courses in music appreciation, while 28 per cent in Grand Rapids, and 38 per cent in Los Angeles had studied harmony. It is somewhat surprising to find that 47 per cent of the audience in Grand Rapids had attended concerts before the age of eighteen, and 33 per cent in Los Angeles.

Factors Interesting Audiences in Symphonic Music

While many factors undoubtedly have combined in interesting these audiences in symphonic music, the influence of which they are most conscious is repeated attendance at concerts. In Grand Rapids, 38 per cent mentioned this factor, and in Los Angeles, 31 per cent. The great significance of this lies in the fact that these people realize that their interest and pleasure in symphony concerts have developed with increasing familiarity and knowledge. In other words, symphonic music grows upon the listener with repeated exposure. Aside from concerts themselves, broadcasting has been the most important force in building interest in symphonic music among the audiences surveyed. Of those returning questionnaires in Grand Rapids, 31 per cent mentioned radio as a means through which they became interested, while 22 per cent did so in Los Angeles. Radio has been somewhat more important in influencing nonsubscribers than subscribers. This is true of both cities. In Grand Rapids, 36 per cent of the nonsubscribers credited broadcasting, as compared to 28 per cent of the subscribers; in Los Angeles, 27 per cent of the nonsubscribers, and 18 per

cent of the subscribers. The study of an instrument has served to interest a considerable proportion of these audiences—17 per cent in Grand Rapids, and 16 per cent in Los Angeles—while listening to symphony records ranked next and was mentioned by 12 per cent in Grand Rapids and Los Angeles. A rather larger percentage of nonsubscribers than subscribers in Los Angeles attributed their interest in symphonic music either to recordings or the playing of an instrument.

Although 47 per cent of those returning questionnaires in Grand Rapids said that they had attended children's concerts before the age of eighteen, only 3 per cent indicated that they had become interested in symphony music in this way. In Los Angeles, 33 per cent had attended children's concerts, and 4 per cent considered them an important influence. At first glance these figures might cast a doubt on the value of children's concerts. However, several features serve to explain these apparent discrepancies. Relatively few children's concerts are given during a season and children seldom have the opportunity for repeated attendance. Furthermore, there is usually a lapse of years between attendance at them and at the regular concert series. It is not surprising, therefore, that their influence is completely overshadowed in the memory of those answering questionnaires by the repeated effects of radio, phonograph, and concert attendance as adults. In view of these considerations, the 3 and 4 per cent who attributed their interest in symphonic music directly to children's concerts are a hopeful sign of what may be accomplished with more intensive and consistent development of this field.

The seeming inconsistency between 2.5 per cent in both cities, who attributed their interest in symphony concerts to music appreciation courses and the large number having received such instruction, is also partly explainable by the lapse of time between these courses and attendance at concerts. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that both children's concerts and music appreciation courses have laid the foundation for listening to radio and phonograph records which later culminated in an active interest in symphony concerts.

Musical Preferences

The differences in the average age and education of the audiences, as well as in programming and the cost of attending concerts, between Grand Rapids and Los Angeles are reflected in the musical preferences expressed by the audiences. Only 59 per cent of those answering the questionnaire in Grand Rapids preferred serious music, while 35 per cent favored light compositions, and 4 per cent indicated a partiality for popular music. In Los Angeles, 95 per cent showed a preference for serious music. The same factors are the cause for 53 per cent of the Grand Rapids audience preferring symphony orchestras to other forms of musical rendition, as compared with 77 per cent in Los Angeles. On the whole, preferences in Grand Rapids were more widely scattered, with 11 per cent favoring vocal solos, 9 per cent opera, 9 per cent instrumental solos, and 6 per cent light opera. In Los Angeles, instrumental solos were the only form,

other than symphonic music, for which a marked preference was indicated—9 per cent. It is interesting to note that 84 per cent of nonsubscribers in Los Angeles preferred symphonic music, as against 68 per cent of the subscribers. This leads to speculation as to the extent to which subscribers may be impelled by social motives rather than by preference for symphonic music.

Approximately three-quarters of those answering the questionnaire in both cities expressed the desire to have concerts by the orchestra alone, as well as performances featuring guest artists included in the regular series. In Grand Rapids, 20 per cent preferred concerts with soloists, and only 3 per cent concerts of the orchestra alone, as compared to 10 per cent and 8 per cent, respectively, in Los Angeles. Nonsubscribers in Los Angeles showed a greater preference for guest artists than did subscribers—15 per cent as against 7 per cent. That guest artists are more essential to the success of concerts in Grand Rapids than in Los Angeles is further indicated by the fact that audiences in the former city desired an average of 8 out of 10 concerts with soloists while Los Angeles audiences expressed a preference for but 6 out of 10. Vocal soloists were the most popular form of guest artist in Grand Rapids and were preferred by 36 per cent, followed by pianists with 28 per cent, and violinists with 21 per cent. Pianists were preferred by 59 per cent of the audience in Los Angeles, violinists by 18 per cent, and vocal soloists by 14 per cent.

Notwithstanding the differences in general preferences, Grand Rapids and Los Angeles audiences were

remarkably similar in their choices of favorite composers and symphonic compositions. In both cities, Beethoven, Tschaiikowsky, and Brahms were among the four favorite composers. Wagner ranked third in Grand Rapids, while Sibelius ranked fourth in Los Angeles. Schubert, Mozart, and Franck also ranked among the first ten composers, in order of preference, in the two cities. Ravel, Rimsky-Korsakoff, and Johann Strauss were among the ten favorite composers in Grand Rapids, while Sibelius, Bach, and Richard Strauss were included among those in Los Angeles.

TABLE XV. TEN RANKING COMPOSERS PREFERRED BY
GRAND RAPIDS AND LOS ANGELES AUDIENCES

<i>Composer</i>	<i>LOS ANGELES</i>		<i>GRAND RAPIDS</i>	
	<i>Percentage of Total Mentions</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Mentions</i>	<i>Rank</i>
Beethoven	20.7	1	12.2	1
Brahms	13.1	2	6.7	4
Tschaiikowsky . . .	11.4	3	11.9	2
Sibelius	6.2	4	..	..
Mozart	5.9	5	3.3	8 ^a
Franck	5.0	6	2.6	10
Wagner	4.9	7	10.9	3
Bach	3.9	8	..	..
Schubert	3.6	9	4.0	5
Richard Strauss ..	2.9	10	..	..
Ravel . . . . .	..	..	3.6	6
Johann Strauss . .	..	..	3.5	7
Rimsky-Korsakoff. .	..	..	3.3	8 ^a
Debussy . . . . .	..	..	2.6	9

^a Tie for eighth rank.

Beethoven's Fifth, Seventh, and Ninth symphonies were among the ten highest ranking compositions in both cities, while the Third also was included in Los Angeles. The Fifth ranked first in Grand Rapids, and second in Los Angeles. Tschaikowsky's Fifth Symphony ranked second in Grand Rapids, and third in Los Angeles. All four Brahms symphonies were included among the ten ranking compositions in Los Angeles, and only the First in Grand Rapids. It is most significant that all of the compositions included among the ten ranking favorites in both cities are part of the standard symphonic repertoire.

TABLE XVI. TEN RANKING COMPOSITIONS PREFERRED BY GRAND RAPIDS AND LOS ANGELES AUDIENCES

Composition	LOS ANGELES		GRAND RAPIDS	
	Percentage of Total Mentions	Rank	Percentage of Total Mentions	Rank
Franck—D Minor	3.8	1	1.6	7 ^a
Beethoven—Fifth	3.6	2	3.0	1
Tschaikowsky—Fifth	2.8	3	2.9	2 ^b
Brahms—First	2.7	4	1.7	6
Beethoven—Seventh	2.7		1.8	5
Beethoven—Ninth (Choral)	2.7	5	1.4	9
Beethoven—Third (<i>Eroica</i>)	2.2		..	..
Brahms—Fourth	2.2	..	..	..
Tschaikowsky—Sixth (<i>Pathétique</i>) ..	2.1	6	2.1	4
Schubert—Eighth (<i>Unfinished</i>) ..	1.6	7	2.8	3
Tschaikowsky—Fourth	1.5	8	1.3	10
Brahms—Second	1.3	9	..	..
Brahms—Third	1.2	10	..	..
Ravel— <i>Bolero</i> .....	..	..	2.9	2 ^b
Rimsky-Korsakoff— <i>Scheherazade</i> ..	..	..	1.6	7 ^a
Dvořák—Fifth (<i>New World</i>) .....	..	..	1.5	8

^a Tie for seventh rank.

^b Tie for second rank.

Questioning as to the most convenient time of the week for symphony concerts indicated a general preference for those currently used by the orchestras. Friday evening, when the Grand Rapids concerts are now presented, was indicated as being convenient for 74 per cent of the audience, while 13 per cent mentioned Thursday evening and Saturday afternoon, and 9 per cent Sunday afternoon. The three times currently in use in Los Angeles for symphony concerts were among those stated as being most convenient: Thursday evening, 39 per cent; Saturday evening, 25 per cent; and Friday afternoon, 24 per cent. In addition, 25 per cent mentioned Friday night as a satisfactory time for concerts, and 15 per cent Sunday afternoon. It would seem, therefore, that audiences generally have accommodated their plans for the week to the customary symphony concert dates and probably prefer to have these remain unchanged.

An attempt was made also to determine why nonsubscribers did not purchase tickets for the whole season. While slightly more than one-quarter of those answering the questionnaire in both cities found the time of week inconvenient for attendance throughout the entire series, the influence of the high cost of the full subscription, and the tendency to shop around for the most interesting programs and soloists, were especially prominent in Los Angeles. Forty-five per cent of nonsubscribers gave the high cost of a season ticket as their reason for not buying it, while 43 per cent stated that they attended concerts only when certain compositions or guest artists were featured. In Grand Rapids, only 33 per cent of the non-

subscribers replied that the price of a season ticket had been prohibitive. The small number of concerts per season—7—and the consequent limited opportunity to hear a symphony orchestra, undoubtedly serves to explain the fact that 17 per cent of the Grand Rapids nonsubscribers attended only when features or artists of particular appeal were presented. Nonsubscribers attended an average of 5 concerts a season in Grand Rapids, and 6 concerts in Los Angeles. The existence of a market in both cities, which may bear further investigation, was indicated by the fact that 26 per cent of the nonsubscribers in Grand Rapids, and 30 per cent in Los Angeles had previously been season-ticket holders.

Listening to Symphony Broadcasts

In view of the influence of radio in awakening interest in symphonic music, the tastes and habits of concert audiences regarding symphony broadcasts are important. The nation-wide broadcasts of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, the Ford Sunday Evening Hour, and the NBC Symphony concerts are listened to by a large proportion of concert-goers in both cities. The Philharmonic-Symphony Sunday afternoon concerts ranked first in Los Angeles and were listened to regularly by 84 per cent of those returning questionnaires, and second in Grand Rapids with 63 per cent. The NBC Symphony ranked second in Los Angeles with 47 per cent, and third in Grand Rapids with 33 per cent. The Ford Sunday Evening Hour came first with 69 per cent in Grand Rapids, and third in Los

Angeles with 41 per cent. In Los Angeles, however, the Standard Symphony Hour, which for many years has been sponsored by the Standard Oil Company of California, tied for second place with the NBC Symphony.

As might be expected, concert audiences derive more enjoyment from attendance at concerts than from radio listening. Sixty-one per cent in Grand Rapids, and 69 per cent in Los Angeles, reported that they enjoyed symphonic music over the radio less than in the concert hall. Only 10 per cent in Grand Rapids, and 7 per cent in Los Angeles, found radio listening more satisfactory, while 29 per cent and 24 per cent, respectively, showed no preference. More significant, therefore, is the report from 43 per cent of the Grand Rapids audience, and 32 per cent in Los Angeles, that they have been attending concerts more often since they have been listening to symphonic music over the radio than formerly. Only 4 per cent in Grand Rapids, and 7 per cent in Los Angeles, stated that they have been attending concerts less frequently.

Forty per cent of the Grand Rapids, and 61 per cent of the Los Angeles, audiences own recordings of symphonic music, but 82 per cent and 66 per cent, respectively, of these audiences reported that they preferred the radio to records.

In spite of their limitations, these data suggest a few conclusions of merchandising significance. The testimony of audiences as to the effects of radio, the phonograph, and music education, both in interesting them in symphonic music and getting them to attend concerts, suggests that there is an expanding potential audience as

these forces themselves continue to reach more people. There are strong reasons to believe that a wide market exists among young people, above the student age, which has still to be completely exploited. For example, the relatively younger nonsubscribers in Los Angeles profess a greater interest in symphony music than do subscribers, while many of them indicate that they cannot afford present series tickets. If special series could be developed at a cost within their means, and particular appeal be made to this group, a significant addition might be made to operating income. Even if this is not possible, Los Angeles evidence raises the question whether a more vigorous promotion of single ticket sales among this group would not be profitable. From a merchandising point of view, the chief value of these surveys is the indication they give of the wealth of practical information that might be obtained through more comprehensive studies of audiences and the general public.

Adapting Concerts to Public Demand

A discussion of the question of adapting concerts to the public demand involves a consideration of two problems: the extent to which present concerts meet the public taste as to kind and manner of presentation, and the possibility of developing new and more attractive forms of concerts. The latter possibility is rather remote, for most of the necessary forms of service seem to have been established in many cities. However, the potential market which seems to exist among younger people above high-school age suggests that managements might give

serious study to the desirability of designing concerts to reach this particular group.

There is no doubt that in many cities existing concert series can be brought more in accordance with public taste, both as to content and the conditions under which they are presented. Not infrequently there exists the possibility of increasing the attractiveness of regular series concerts without impairing artistic standards. In some instances, programs have been lacking in variety and balance, and, in others, concerts have been too long. It would therefore be profitable for managements, and even more for conductors, to re-examine carefully the psychology of their communities with regard to symphonic music and to reappraise their own efforts in meeting the conditions imposed by this psychology.

As stated previously, it is probable that "pop" concerts can be made successful only if they are kept distinctive in character from the regular series. The increasing demand for better music on the part of audiences has caused programs of many of these concerts to become similar to those of the regular series. Because of this situation, completely distinctive series, such as the Boston "Pops" which do not pretend to offer regular symphonic fare, seem to have the greatest chance of being profitable. These, however, can be given only where adequate facilities exist.

Children's concerts have been demonstrated to be most successful where they have been closely co-ordinated with the public school system. In view of the fact that these concerts are a public service, and admissions, where charged, cannot begin to cover cost, attention might well

be given to the possibility of securing direct appropriations from the community for this purpose. Moreover, the value of children's concerts in building future audiences for the orchestra must constantly be kept in mind. The effectiveness of these concerts might be greatly enhanced if they were planned more carefully and especially if more attention were given to the dramatic values involved in their presentation. The value of children's concerts might further be increased if they were supplemented in more cities by youth concerts which would bridge the gap between them and the adult programs.

Summer concerts afford probably the greatest opportunity of extending the audience and increasing operating income, and merit the most careful study by all managements. There is no magic formula for adapting the various types of symphony concerts to the widest possible audience and, in the final analysis, success in this field depends to a large extent upon the imagination and ability of the conductors and managers and their sensitiveness to the psychology of the public. Conductors too seldom realize the role which they can play in the successful merchandising of symphony concerts without in the least lowering their artistic standards.

The growing discrimination of the American concert audience makes the maintenance of an orchestra of high quality a merchandising consideration of primary importance. Since more people are hearing the best orchestras over the radio and learning more about music in general, they are demanding excellence, not only in programming, but in performance. Any city which undertakes to maintain an orchestra must do so with the realization

that anything short of the utmost which the community can afford will receive but small public support. Indeed, it is quite possible that important groups of concert-goers today place undue value upon virtuoso performance. Consequently, it may be desirable to give greater promotional emphasis to the enjoyment of the music itself.

Closely allied with the question of quality is that of size of orchestra. As pointed out in Chapter Four, the repertoire demanded by American audiences, together with hall requirements, make it necessary to maintain a full-sized symphony orchestra. Smaller orchestras, no matter how excellent, have seldom been able to capture the imagination of audiences and to secure any large measure of support.

Many improvements are desirable in the conditions under which concerts are presented to the public. The effectiveness of many orchestras could be greatly enhanced if they had auditoriums better suited to the presentation of symphony concerts. Though this situation probably cannot be remedied to any material degree for a long time to come, and inadequate facilities will continue to impede the full development of orchestra services, it is particularly important that communities contemplating new auditoriums, either for the exclusive use of the symphony orchestra, or for more general purposes, design them with a view to all the various kinds of concerts which might have to be presented there.

The question as to whether symphony concerts could be better adapted to the real demand, if they were presented more frequently or in larger auditoriums at lower

prices, is often raised. The cost per concert would make it unprofitable in most cases to present more concerts in present auditoriums, at lower prices. The large audiences that attend many of the low-priced summer concerts, and the somewhat higher earning ratios of some of the summer series, lend weight to the question regarding larger auditoriums and lower prices, at least for some of the larger cities. However, acoustical problems make it difficult to present symphony concerts in halls larger than 3,500 or 4,000 capacity. Assuming, however, that audiences of this size could be attracted at lower prices and with well-planned promotion, budgetary problems would not disappear. With prices ranging from 50 cents to \$2.50—the customary range at the present time in several cities—and a large proportion of the seats available at the lower prices, operating income for regular seasons might, on the whole, be somewhat improved in the larger houses if completely sold out. But, nevertheless, sizable deficits would usually remain. If prices were reduced below these levels, larger auditoriums might bring symphonic music within the reach of a much wider audience, but the proceeds per concert might be increased little, if at all.

Regardless of speculation as to what might be done with larger auditoriums, the fact remains that most orchestras will have to get along with their present auditoriums for some time to come, and the immediate problem is that of selling present unsold capacity. In most cases resort to lower prices, in the hope of filling the present auditoriums, would not make material additions to operating income, and, if not skillfully applied, might

even reduce it. These considerations raise the question of developing other pricing policies which might make it easier for more people to buy tickets.

The discrepancy noted earlier in the chapter between the relatively small number of individuals who are reached through the various concerts of the regular season, and the huge radio and summer audiences, focuses attention upon what seems to be a pricing problem. Very few season tickets sell for less than \$10 or \$15, while the minimum in Boston is \$35. Since people seldom attend alone, this means an expenditure of from \$20 to \$30 at the minimum for any one family, and at least \$70 in Boston. The purchase of a season's subscription, therefore, is an important budget consideration and one of the large lump-sum outlays. It is often difficult to save that much in advance. Today, when one can buy electric irons, vacuum cleaners, furniture, clothing, sets of books, and even sets of golf clubs on the installment or budget payment plan, symphony orchestras are forced to merchandise their product—selling at about the same price as many of these items—on a pay-in-advance basis. This is severe competition to meet when the close margin of the average family budget is considered.

Budget payment plans have been experimented with to a very limited extent and their advisability is far from established. A number of difficulties stand in the way of adapting the deferred payment method to symphony tickets. Price adjustments to take care of financing, collection, credit losses, and the volume of clerical detail would be difficult if not impossible, as would the exclusion of people from concerts because of unpaid install-

ments. Moreover, unused tickets for part of the season would have doubtful value and would be difficult to market. Nevertheless, the possibility of developing budget plans, and of promoting them through Parent-Teacher Associations, women's clubs, and other similar groups, merits some investigation.

Channels for Selling Symphony Tickets

Although the channels through which symphony concert tickets are distributed to the public are vastly more simple than those used in the marketing of most goods and services, important problems exist in this phase of orchestra merchandising. The principal channels are as follows: the box office, and the sustaining organization or women's committees—where these conduct ticket-selling campaigns—which perform a retail function; the local concert managements in various cities visited on tour and, to a small extent, organizations such as the Civic Concert Service, Inc., and the Community Concert Service, which serve in the general manner of wholesalers of symphony concerts.

The significance of the orchestra box office as the point of sale has been overlooked too frequently by managements in developing their promotional program. The feeling that symphony orchestras are not a business in the usual sense has often led to the mistaken conclusion that the box office is merely a public convenience rather than an important selling force. As a result, it has frequently been run in a routine and unimaginative fashion

rather than with an eye to increasing ticket sales and building public good will. Seemingly small considerations, such as a pleasant manner in answering inquiries, and filling orders over the telephone, which have been found so important in retailing, at times have been overlooked. In some instances, the box-office personnel has been imbued with an indifferent and snobbish attitude and the conviction that nothing needs to be done to stimulate ticket sales. The deadening effect of this spirit is illustrated by an incident occurring during the financial campaign of a major orchestra. Upon being solicited for a contribution, a well-known executive replied that he could do so only if he refrained from purchasing two additional season tickets which he had planned to buy. The solicitor told the box-office man of the situation and asked him to follow up the matter. At the end of the week the box-office man had not even sent the executive an order blank. When asked the reason, he replied that the executive's wife always bought the orchestra tickets and that, after all, her daughter had just been married and she therefore did not need two tickets. Individuals engaged in assisting orchestras to raise funds report that this is neither an isolated nor an extreme example of box-office defeatism. Where this spirit persists, more enterprising box-office operation is highly necessary. The box office can also be an instrument in building up a mailing list.

A great deal of symphony ticket selling is mail-order business, so that the maintenance of a comprehensive, up-to-date mailing list is indispensable to efficiency. Since

this question has been discussed earlier in the volume,² elaboration is not necessary at this point.

Question is sometimes raised as to the value of sustaining organizations and women's committees as agencies for the sale of tickets. In a few instances difficulties have been experienced where these groups have been used for both ticket-selling and maintenance fund drives during the same season. Some managements have found it difficult to maintain the efficiency of volunteer organizations of this type, over a period of time, which have started with a burst of enthusiasm and after a few years have lost much of their sales potency. However, the effectiveness of some of these organizations could be considerably increased if the managements devoted more time and attention to the directing of their activities. The appointment of directors of women's activities by a few major orchestras is an effort to place this work on a more enduring basis, though this step has been too recent to pass judgment as to its efficacy. In spite of the fact that women's committees have been a most important force in building up concert attendance in several instances and volunteer help should be welcomed when it is good, it seems desirable to have the responsibility for ticket retailing if possible in experienced professional hands.

Practice varies as to the use of local managements to promote and underwrite tour engagements. Orchestras themselves sometimes assume all of the promotion and financial risks of out-of-town concerts, either for the entire itinerary or for a few of the more important cities. In other cases they work through local concert manage-

² See Chapter Six.

ments which hire the hall, take care of promotion and other details, and which guarantee the orchestra a specified return for the concert. Where this procedure is followed, the promotion of ticket sales is in the hands of the local management. Since the local management usually has limited promotional facilities, it is highly desirable that the closest co-operation be worked out between it and the orchestra management in this field if the largest possible audience is to be secured.

The changing character of the concert business, the rise of a host of competing forms of entertainment, and the general uncertainty of all branches of the amusement business during the depression have caused the local concert manager to decline in relative importance. This trend was given further impetus by the formation of the Civic Concert Service, Inc., and the Community Concert Service, for the purpose of marketing artists' concerts on a large scale. The principle upon which both of these services work is to organize different communities by means of a field force and to sell tickets to their series at comparatively low prices. For example, the Community Concert Service offers 5 concerts for \$5.00, while a subsidiary, Co-operative Concerts, operating in smaller towns, market a series of 3 concerts for \$3.00. At the present time the two services combined promote concerts in between 500 and 600 towns.

Since symphony orchestras are occasionally booked by these services, and since they have assumed an important position in the marketing of artists' concerts as a whole, the question arises as to their potential value in further developing the tour business of an orchestra. In

several instances these services have enabled orchestras to book engagements as part of a concert series in communities which they otherwise might not have been able to enter. Since symphony orchestras are expensive to take on tour and a high charge must be made for them, the number of cities in which they are a profitable form of business is limited. Furthermore, whatever engagements may be secured through these services must be fitted into the regular and touring schedules of the individual orchestras. This is made difficult by the fact that the demand for any one orchestra in concert series is likely to be sporadic and widely scattered. While a few orchestras, therefore, may derive some added income through these sources, it appears that on the whole this type of booking cannot be counted upon to add greatly to total receipts.

Publicity and Sales Promotion

It is impossible to discuss current symphony concert series practices or the problems of marketing channels without consideration of various aspects of sales promotion, so that this question has been treated to a considerable measure earlier in this chapter and in Chapter Six as well. However, attention should be called to several matters at this point. Examination of current publicity and public relations practices among symphony orchestras leads to the conclusion that in many cases too small a portion of the budget has been allocated for this purpose and that these activities have been confined all too much to routine. Too great reliance also has been placed in

part-time personnel in a number of cities. The fact that orchestras are nonprofit organizations has sometimes led to the attitude that it is unnecessary or improper to spend the money required by a comprehensive and effective promotional program. In view of the severity of competition among leisure-time activities, it is most desirable that managements and boards especially reappraise their promotional program and facilities in the light of present requirements. It is also highly essential that the development and execution of the promotional program be placed in skilled, professional hands and not be included among the many duties which devolve upon the manager.

Undoubtedly the greatest need in publicity and public relations is emphasis on the genuine pleasure to be derived from listening to good music, even by the musically uneducated. Developing this viewpoint to the fullest measure will require a radically new attitude on the part of many concerned with symphonic music. Intellectual snobbery of some of the critics, managements, and boards must be overcome, as well as the more pervasive and insidious snobbery of those parts of the audience for whom the learned discussion of musical technicalities—which they seldom understand—acts as a stimulus to the ego. These are the groups which have spread and perpetuated the mistaken belief that symphony concerts can be enjoyed only by the musically “high-brows.”

While the techniques of advertising, publicity, and public relations are properly the concern of qualified experts, their practice must necessarily be co-ordinated with the larger public policy of the orchestra. Indeed,

all of the activities of the orchestra—from programming to the conduct of the maintenance fund campaign—must be shaped in keeping with a continuous and long-range program for making the orchestra a community institution and building up public support, and it is the development of this program and the co-ordination of its various elements which is the basic sales promotion function of management.

Sales policies with the most lasting cumulative effects are those which are carried on consistently and continuously and which feature the enduring value of symphonic music and of the orchestra. They are aimed at making people really want to buy tickets, not once, but repeatedly, rather than at forcing them upon as many people as possible whether or not they want them. High-pressure devices, such as ticket-selling campaigns and the use of spectacular guest artists, should be applied sparingly and with greatest care if their effectiveness in meeting special situations or emergencies is to be maintained and if false standards are not to be built up among the public which may later cause the orchestra difficulty. The pressure to sell as many tickets as possible frequently results in their purchase by people merely to please someone else, or as an act of charity, and therefore may result in a resistant or antagonistic attitude toward the orchestra, or at best a feeling of indifference. Viewed in any light this is not a sound basis for building up a permanent patronage. On the other hand, where an orchestra moves to a very much larger hall, a ticket-selling campaign may be a most useful means of securing a large ini-

tial audience which more continuing forms of promotion must then hold for succeeding seasons. Spectacular guest artists similarly may be most helpful in special situations. For example, if an orchestra is just starting its career, popular soloists establish the orchestra's acceptance by the public by assisting materially in attracting sufficiently large audiences. However, continuous use of such box-office attractions yields decreasing returns from the point of view of audience building. Furthermore, promotion of soloists often overshadows the orchestra itself and may actually prevent building up an appreciation of purely symphonic music and the orchestra which alone will ensure audiences without the stimulation of "box-office" artists.

The beneficial effects of applying a comprehensive merchandising program are illustrated in Boston. An early start in a less competitive field, the traditional interest of New England in all phases of culture, the financial stability which made experimentation and long-range planning possible, gave the Boston Symphony Orchestra many advantages not enjoyed by other orchestras. The sound principles and foresight of Colonel Higginson, and the intelligence of the management, which seem to have anticipated much of the best current merchandising practice in business, made the most of these opportunities and contributed materially to the orchestra's success. From the beginning, attention of the public has been focused upon the orchestra and the music. Colonel Higginson believed that it was the function of the orchestra to provide various kinds of musical enjoy-

ment and to serve all tastes and classes in the community. As a result the "Pops" were established in the orchestra's fourth year, and the policy of diversification has been further extended by the institution of the Esplanade Concerts, Berkshire Festival, Youth Concerts, and Berkshire Academy.

A clear-cut line of distinction has been maintained between the kinds of services offered, and each has been merchandised on its own merits. For example, the Boston "Pops" have always been promoted and advertised as "Pops" rather than as an activity of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Furthermore, this distinction has been heightened by rigidly separating the various concert series, with the exception of the Youth Concerts, as to the time of year when they are presented. The regular season is followed by the "Pops," which in turn are succeeded by the Esplanade Concerts. After a lapse of a short period, the Berkshire Festival is given in early August. Each new activity has been carefully departmentalized from the start so that it might stand on its own feet during the experimental period, and in case it was unsuccessful it would not impair the reputation and morale of the general undertaking.

Although these various types of service maintain their own identity and serve different artistic and social purposes, the highest quality requisite for each type of concert is maintained. The development of as varied and comprehensive a program as this has been facilitated by the fact that nonunion operation permits greater flexibility than is possible under the union agreement.

Potential Income from Radio and Recordings

There is a great deal of speculation as to the extent to which orchestras can hope to increase their operating income from radio broadcasting and recording phonograph records. For many of the major symphony orchestras these sources of income have been comparatively unimportant and probably will continue to be so.⁸ The commercial sponsorship of symphony orchestras has declined materially since the early days of radio. Advertisers feel, rightly or wrongly, that symphony broadcasts reach a class market and that symphony programs are seldom adapted to the inclusion of a strong selling message on the program. Union regulations governing commercial broadcasts impose high costs which make symphony orchestras expensive to advertising sponsors. Unless the attitude of advertisers changes materially, because of an increasing demand by the general public for symphony programs over the radio, future income from this source will continue to be limited. Symphony orchestra broadcasts on a sustaining basis must be looked upon for the present principally as a means of building up prestige rather than as a source of income. Competition between orchestras to get on the air, even free of charge, and the fact that the principal needs of the national networks for

⁸ The Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, a Columbia Broadcasting System feature for nine years, is the only symphony orchestra to have derived an appreciable amount of income with any regularity from radio. The Ford Sunday Evening Hour employs 75 Detroit Symphony players, a fact which contributes materially to the orchestra's ability to operate on as short a season as 21 weeks. All other orchestra radio engagements have been infrequent and sporadic.

symphony music are well taken care of, are responsible for this situation.

Except in a few instances the recording of phonograph records has also been a minor source of income. In those cases where it probably has reached important proportions and contributed materially to reducing deficits, orchestras have naturally been reluctant to disclose any of the financial details. What the possibilities are and how the increased business may be distributed among the orchestras is impossible to predict. With the recent increasing competition in the high class record field, it is reasonable to suppose that a larger number of symphony orchestras will derive additional income from this service.

Special Problems of Secondary Orchestras

Much of what has been said of the problems of major symphony orchestras applies to secondary orchestras as well. The principles governing programming, use of guest artists, hall design, publicity and promotion, ticket-selling campaigns, and other details of orchestra organization and operation are fundamentally the same for all groups of orchestras. Indeed, whenever a secondary orchestra improves in quality and extends its schedules—especially when the point is reached where the men are engaged on a weekly basis—its problems become practically identical with those of the younger major orchestras.

However, secondary orchestras face certain problems arising out of their own peculiar situations. Their personnel, when professional, is usually paid on a concert-

and-rehearsal basis and often is at least partly amateur. The limitations in the ability of local players, and of opportunities for rehearsal, place definite restrictions upon the quality of performance which these orchestras can attain and the repertoire which they can attempt.

The central problem of secondary orchestras is that of attaining an artistic standard which will command the interest and support of the community. This, however, does not mean that efforts which fall short of the virtuosity of the major orchestras are undeserving of the fullest support. The primary purpose of a symphony orchestra is to provide the opportunity for people to become familiar with the world's great music, and the extent to which these local orchestras can fulfill this function with competence is the principal justification for their existence. In certain respects local symphony orchestras can render services which cannot be duplicated by either visiting orchestras or the radio, and it is largely on this basis that their support must be promoted. A virtuoso orchestra can be imported for only a limited number of concerts, but only as the local orchestra is developed can the amount of music available be increased. Most communities, if they want eight, ten, or twelve concerts a year can have them only by maintaining their own orchestra.

The local symphony orchestra is the focal point for music in its community. It provides at least some income for professional musicians and brings or keeps in the community competent teachers. It alone is able to present an extensive program of children's concerts. It constitutes a nucleus for chamber music groups. Sometimes

the symphony orchestra provides the impetus for the formation of a chorus. Thus, over a period of time, it enriches the musical life and widens the scope of the musical experience available in the community. There are also certain practical business advantages to the maintenance of a local symphony orchestra. The very fact that symphony concerts are held gives rise to a demand for a multitude of goods and services which must be supplied mainly by local businesses. The existence of a competent orchestra serves to advertise the home city in its surrounding trade area. An intangible, but probably one of the most important services of a secondary orchestra to its own locality, is its contribution to the realization that good music can be a factor of everyday life instead of a far-off impersonal thing which can be enjoyed only by the more well-to-do inhabitants of large metropolitan centers. Where the orchestra is partly amateur, the sight of friends and neighbors playing with obvious joy and satisfaction the music of the masters does much to break down the "typical American sheet-iron shirt-front toward good music that has done much to retard its progress." ⁴

While the various considerations just mentioned are more important factors in bringing people to the concerts of secondary orchestra than they are for major orchestras, the fact remains that audiences will attend repeatedly only if the orchestra succeeds in attaining an acceptable level of performance. The only hope of developing operating income, therefore, lies in continued

⁴ J. Spencer Bell, Chairman of the Board of the Charlotte (N. C.) Symphony Orchestra, *Bricks Without Straw*.

efforts to improve the orchestra. The particular point at which improvement is most needed varies from orchestra to orchestra. Often further progress is possible only if a more competent conductor can be secured. Sometimes the principal need is for instruction and coaching of players. In other instances, the importation of a few experienced musicians may assist materially in raising the level of the ensemble. The need is not always for first players, but often for experienced, steady players who give the orchestra confidence and help to carry along the less experienced members. Occasionally funds may be necessary to provide added rehearsals.

For many secondary orchestras, the possibility of progress into an important community institution, supported largely by its own earned income as compared to the danger of continued mediocrity or even complete failure, hinges upon sufficient working capital to see the orchestra through the pioneering period.

The proper management and promotion of secondary orchestras, irrespective of their stage of development, are usually hampered by the extent to which they must rely on amateurs and volunteers. In many cases one of the greatest needs is for at least one paid permanent employee so that ticket selling, publicity, and general promotion can be carried on continuously. Occasional expert advice to the managements and sustaining organizations of these orchestras would go a long way toward helping them solve their problems, develop their service, and improve their financial stability. Many of the managers and conductors of secondary orchestras are keenly aware of the need for expert assistance and for discus-

sion of their mutual problems. Indeed, suggestions have been made frequently that the formation of an organization through which these opportunities might be afforded would be extremely valuable.

The main question is what the future development of these secondary orchestras will be. There is a good chance that some of the secondary orchestras that already are largely on a professional basis—principally those in Group IV—will progress to the status of present Group III major orchestras. Others which may not go that far will still probably improve considerably in quality and range of service until they become community assets of great value. The smaller secondary orchestras similarly may expect to progress to higher artistic levels and to expand their service, where the planning is sound and the program of the orchestra carefully adapted to its abilities and to the requirements of the community. Many of the secondary orchestras will benefit from the rise of able young American conductors. The smaller ones, especially, will be improved as the extension of music education in the schools increases the number and proficiency of amateurs. All of them, likewise, will have a better chance to achieve a stable basis in view of the continually growing interest in symphonic music. Attention already has been called to the need that many of these secondary orchestras have for working capital to tide them over the pioneering years. For those particularly that are contemplating a change from a concert-and-rehearsal basis to weekly salaries and are hoping to approximate major status, it is essential that the board and management realize in advance the full extent of

the undertaking and have some assurance of enough financial support to see the organization through the transition period during which it is building up its own standard of performance and the audience upon which it must later depend.

The suggestion has sometimes been made that communities might have better orchestras and be more adequately served if a few of them would pool resources and personnel for the formation of regional orchestras. Where the orchestra is almost completely amateur and nonunion, as is the Vermont State Symphony Orchestra, such a plan may contribute a great deal to the various communities. However, the application of the regional principle of organization to orchestras which are largely or completely professional is likely to be unsuccessful. The principal deterrents are local community pride and jealousy, the ambition of conductors and sponsors in one or another city, the very practical problem of getting the orchestra together for rehearsals, the fear of musicians in the various localities of being displaced, and the problem of union jurisdiction. The impracticability of this suggestion, however, should not obscure the logic of orchestras, wherever possible, developing spheres of service in neighboring cities and towns.

TEN

MEETING THE OPERATING DEFICIT

THERE are evidences that a large potential audience for symphonic music, which is not now being reached, exists in every city that has a symphony orchestra, and that this audience is increasing. It therefore follows that operating income can be increased. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that in the predictable future symphony orchestras can be made entirely self-supporting.

Orchestras in Group I have so nearly sold out their capacities for the various types of concerts offered during their regular season that very little additional income could be secured from this source, even if present halls were completely sold out. If Group II and III major orchestras by intelligent merchandising sold out a large part of their present unsold capacities, they might increase their operating income considerably. In one or two instances deficits might be reduced in this fashion by as much as half, although in most cases they could probably be cut no more than an eighth to a quarter. It should be borne in mind, however, that if operating income is increased to a material extent, the present relatively low personnel costs, particularly in

Group III, are almost certain to rise, in which case deficits might remain about where they are. Though summer seasons occasionally meet their costs they cannot be expected to show appreciable surpluses which could be applied to the deficits of the regular season even if both were under the same management. Some orchestras might make their popular and other series more profitable than they are now, but these will always be minor items. Tours, broadcasting, and recording may at times contribute substantially to the income of a few orchestras, but this business for the most part is shifting and uncertain. The stability of symphony orchestras, therefore, will remain to a considerable extent dependent upon various kinds of deficit financing.

Endowment

A thorough study of endowment experience would involve a detailed year-to-year analysis of the course of endowment values, the nature of the real estate holdings, if any, the composition of the investment portfolio, and the yield of the endowment as a whole as well as of the various types of investment. Unfortunately this was not feasible within the time and resources available for this survey. However, it has been possible to assemble a few basic facts regarding current endowments. Endowments are an important source of income for 6 of the major orchestras and a minor source for 4 more. The present value of the more important endowments ranges from approximately half a million to two or three million dollars. The yield on the endowments of major orchestras

during the 1937-38 season was between 3.7 per cent and 4.7 per cent.

Most of these endowments are invested in a diversified list of securities, although two also include some real estate holdings and mortgages. Two omit government bonds. The Cleveland Orchestra endowment is set up as a trust, with investments limited to securities legal for trust funds in the state of Ohio. Three orchestras—Boston, Chicago, and Cleveland—in addition to their other endowment own their own auditoriums. The principal purpose of Symphony Hall in Boston, and Severance Hall in Cleveland, is to provide auditorium and office space for the orchestra. Orchestra Hall in Chicago is housed in an office building from which additional rental income is obtained.

There is some variation as to the origin of these endowments and the conditions under which they have been set up. For example, the endowment of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society was built up by a few large gifts of which only the interest may be used for current expenses, the principal being reserved for such time as the orchestra may construct its own hall. The Philadelphia Orchestra's endowment is the result of two campaigns, the first in 1916-17 for \$750,000, and the second in 1919-20 for \$1,000,000. Only the income can be used. The funds for the Boston and Chicago halls were raised largely by public subscription, while Severance Hall was made possible by a gift of \$1,000,000 by John L. Severance in 1928 and was built on ground donated by Western Reserve University. On the death of Mrs. Severance the gift was increased to \$2,500,000. The original

\$1,000,000 had been offered on the condition that the city would raise a \$2,000,000 endowment for the orchestra, and as a result of this offer a \$2,500,000 fund was established. In Cincinnati Mr. and Mrs. Charles Phelps Taft offered to contribute \$1,000,000 to endow the Institute of Fine Arts, which owns and operates the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, on condition that \$2,500,000 additional be raised through public subscription.

A unique situation exists in Rochester where the orchestra is indirectly the beneficiary of an endowment. The Rochester Civic Music Association, which supports the orchestra, receives about \$65,000 annually from the University of Rochester for the maintenance of the Civic and Philharmonic Orchestras. While part of this sum is in the nature of payment for services rendered—such as services of the orchestra used in connection with the Eastman School's American Composer Concerts and other university occasions—nevertheless, a considerable portion must be viewed as a direct contribution to the support of the orchestras from the University's own endowment.

There has been considerable discussion as to the desirability and practicability of building up endowments for symphony orchestras. While all managers would like to have substantial endowments, experience has revealed that this form of financing presents a number of problems. Income from this source is fluctuating, even in the most carefully managed endowments, and at times has shrunk as much as 50 per cent. Endowment funds practically never provide sufficient income to meet the entire deficit, but usually must be supplemented by mainte-

nance funds. However, the existence of a fund of sizable proportions often gives the public a false impression of the resources of the orchestra available for current expenses and increases the problem of raising from the community that portion of the deficit not covered by endowment income. In periods of business stringency, not only does income from endowment fall off, but the public is also less able to contribute to the current operation of the orchestra. In a few instances this has raised the question of using part of the principal, where its use is unrestricted, to tide over the period of emergency. Experience seems to indicate that this practice has merely postponed the evil day. Furthermore, where an orchestra has had a very large endowment, there seems to have been a tendency to rely too heavily upon this source of income and to make little effort to build up operating receipts by adapting the services to the varied requirements of the public.

Where large endowments exist, special care must be taken to avoid the impression that the orchestra exists for the exclusive few, which can only be done by a program of community service accompanied by intelligent public relations. In addition, wherever endowment income must be supplemented by maintenance fund campaigns, it is desirable that the public be taken continuously into confidence so that it will understand thoroughly the reasons why additional funds are required.

In spite of these problems, a substantial endowment is probably one of the most satisfactory assurances of financial stability. It permits long-range planning and the de-

velopment of a varied program of community service, which make possible the building of an audience and hence of operating income. However, these opportunities can be realized only if boards and managements are thoroughly aware of their responsibilities and willing to assume them.

Endowment in the form of a hall presents a different problem. An attractive hall with adequate facilities is one of the greatest assets which an orchestra may possess, and indirectly may contribute materially to operating income. The principal problem which presents itself is that of hall obsolescence, which in these times of rapidly improving building design and engineering may saddle the orchestra with an out-of-date building after several decades.

The future of endowment financing is uncertain. The decline in the size and number of large fortunes, and the increased burden of taxation placed upon them, have reduced the funds available for these purposes. However, the tremendous growth in appreciation of good music and the further contribution which music can make to cultural development in this country commend symphony orchestras, even more than in the past, as deserving of the gifts of wealthy patrons. Although the ultimate values fostered by art galleries and institutions of learning are no less things of the spirit than is symphonic music, they have made a more tangible appeal for the attention of those in a position to give large sums of money. Many of our orchestras, if given the stability that an appropriate endowment would ensure, would have a basis upon

which they could essay a program of expanded community service which otherwise they would not dare to undertake.

Maintenance Funds

Maintenance funds are and probably will continue to be the most important source of nonoperating income. For Group I major orchestras in 1937-38 maintenance funds represented 6.5 per cent of the total income as compared to 4.9 per cent from endowment income. For Group II orchestras they produced 23.9 per cent of total income as compared with 19.8 per cent from endowment. With the exception of the Rochester Civic and Philharmonic Orchestras, which receive funds indirectly from the endowment income of the University of Rochester, no Group III major orchestra has any endowment of importance, and this group has been obliged to depend upon maintenance funds for nearly half of its total income. Even six of the major orchestras that have endowments find maintenance funds their principal source of nonoperating income. The amounts that must be raised every year in this fashion usually range from about \$30,000 to approximately \$150,000, and in 1937-38 averaged \$42,000 for Group I major orchestras, \$71,000 for Group II orchestras, and \$80,000 for Group III. Secondary orchestras are almost entirely dependent upon maintenance funds for their nonoperating income.

While in a few cities maintenance funds are collected from a small group of 1 to 200 people, for most orchestras the number of contributors ranges from 1,200 to

2,500, with the exception of Rochester which has managed to build up a list of nearly 8,000. While it has not been possible to assemble detailed records on the proportion of the maintenance funds represented by gifts of different sizes, it is generally reported among managers that large gifts are becoming fewer and that greater reliance must be placed upon an increasing number of small donations. The 2 Group I orchestras that provided information on this point differ so greatly in number of subscribers that averages would mean nothing. For 1 of these, more than half the number of the contributions were over \$100; for the other, with a larger number of subscribers, less than a fourth were over this figure. For Groups II and III ¹ nearly three-quarters of all the donations were \$25 or under, while little more than 10 per cent were over \$100. In spite of this situation the few large gifts will account for an important portion of the total amounts raised. In several cases, gifts over \$1,000 have represented a half or three-quarters of the total maintenance fund.

While the techniques of maintenance fund raising in the symphony orchestra field are generally similar to those applied to other nonprofit institutions, it is generally agreed that the intensive "drive" type of campaign—concentrated in a short period of time with the emphasis almost entirely on team competition—is not the most desirable means of conducting this work. In spite of the fact that fund raising among symphony orchestras has not been very efficiently handled, there seems to be a

¹ With the exception of Rochester, where an abnormally large proportion of those contributing represent gifts of \$5 and under.

growing recognition of the need of permanent machinery within the orchestra administration for continued planning and execution of fund raising and for expert direction, either from within or without the orchestra organization. Moreover, managers are of the opinion that the responsibility for the details of raising money should not rest with the business management. The principal function of a manager is to produce earned income for his orchestra, and, while he should work with and help in every way the members of the board, the major responsibility for raising funds should be on the board and not on the manager. Some orchestras have been successful in conducting their maintenance fund campaigns with their own staff, though in several instances this has meant that money raising has been practically the sole activity of one person. Fund raising is the principal activity of sustaining organizations and other auxiliary groups which have been described in detail in Chapter Five. In other instances, outside experts have been called upon with good results. The accomplishment of these experts has varied greatly, partly due to the co-operation they have received from the management, and partly to variation in their own knowledge and ability.

It is essential that the entire money-raising effort emphasize the value to be derived from enjoyment of symphonic music, the quality and progress of the orchestra and of its services to the community, rather than plead on a "charity" basis. For this reason the solicitors should be carefully trained in the best way of presenting their story. When properly handled, maintenance fund campaigns can be made to yield valuable by-products in

terms of good will and community pride in the orchestra, but when inadequately thought out and inexpertly executed they can be decidedly harmful.

Government Support

Various kinds of government support for symphonic music have been practiced in the United States and have been described in detail in Chapter Eight. Managers and boards of directors, particularly of orchestras that are finding it extremely difficult to finance their deficits, would welcome the prospect of government support if they could be assured that it would not result in political complications which might impair the artistic standards and progress of the orchestra. They, however, as well as a large part of the public, are skeptical as to the possibilities of setting up government machinery for the support of symphony music that could avoid the dangers of political favoritism and the inflexibility which government "red tape" usually imposes.

Conclusions as to the possible role of the federal government in this field cannot well be based upon the experience of the Federal Music Project. The whole issue was completely confused with the relief aspects of the Works Progress Administration. In some instances, where the direction was exceptionally good and where adequate musical talent was available, the results have been surprisingly good from an artistic point of view. It is possible that the defensive position of some of these projects has given impetus to strenuous efforts to overcome local prejudice and to gain recognition for the

value of the orchestra on a musical as well as on a relief basis. The contribution of the Federal Music Project to the development of interest in music in out-of-the-way places, to music in the schools, and to growing interest in American composers on the whole has been very worth while. Nevertheless, in many places the results have been disappointing and have substantiated the fears of many persons that government regulations often prevent adaptation to local needs and requirements and result in mediocrity. Proposals for devising machinery whereby federal aid could be granted to projects springing from local interest and initiative and grounded in the community will undoubtedly receive further discussion and consideration.² The principal difficulty will be that of maintaining the pre-eminence of artistic standards and of establishing criteria for the selection of undertakings to be granted federal assistance.

Participation of other government units, such as the county and the state in the support of symphony orchestras, has been extremely rare. It is probable that only in a few cases the state would appear to be the logical unit to provide financial assistance to symphony music. Counties, likewise, except in cases like that of Los Angeles where the county is virtually coextensive with the city, can hardly be expected to be concerned with the maintenance of symphony orchestras. Municipalities appear to be the most logical source of government assistance. Even here, outright subsidy to orchestras might have un-

² See the *Proposed Plan for the Establishment of a Federal Bureau of Fine Arts*, drawn up by Dr. Walter Damrosch as a basis for study and discussion, Appendix C.

desirable political implications, although the contribution of the City of Detroit toward the Belle Isle concerts of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra has raised no problems of this sort. The most satisfactory form of municipal aid appears to be achieved through the purchase of concerts by the municipality or its political subdivisions such as park and school boards. The purchase of symphony concerts by the City of San Francisco and the purchase of children's concerts by the school boards of St. Louis and Kansas City have given rise to no criticism on political or artistic grounds and suggest that a great deal more might be done by other cities along these lines.

ELEVEN

THE FUTURE OF AMERICA'S SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS

IN spite of their recurring financial problems, the record of America's symphony orchestras is an impressive one. Their rapid and extensive growth, especially in the last decade during which more orchestras were formed than throughout the entire preceding century, is an indication of the tremendous vitality of the symphony orchestra movement. Three hundred symphony orchestras, including 16 major orchestras ranking among the best in the world, indicate a development which, in quality and extensiveness, is unexcelled.

Of particular importance has been the increasing growth of professional and semiprofessional orchestras in towns and cities away from the principal metropolitan and cultural centers. These orchestras are an indication that the appeal of symphonic music is extending into the length and breadth of the land and that making it and listening to it are becoming the interest of the rank and file and not merely the concern of the favored few. Increasingly, it seems, love of music itself and the deep joy of creating it in company with one's fellows are transcend-

ing the appeal of mere virtuosity or the thought of social prestige, often so closely associated with interest in the fine arts. People are playing together because they derive satisfaction from doing so, because they wish to improve their skills. People are listening to symphonic music because it brings them a message, a varying one to be sure, but nevertheless one of lasting value. Otherwise, from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 persons weekly would not listen to the symphonic broadcasts presented over the radio networks. In this development, the splendid work done by more than 30,000 high-school and college orchestras with reasonably full symphonic instrumentation is of special significance. It is safe to conclude that these student orchestras represent between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 young musicians—the raw material out of which new orchestras and audiences are to be created.

Barring some great economic or social cataclysm, the growth of interest in making and listening to symphonic music is certain to continue in this country, for the forces which have created it persist in American life. School music by no means has reached its fullest development, and the growth which resulted in 30,000 school symphony orchestras is certain to produce further increases in numbers and even greater improvement in quality. To the extent to which professional and even semiprofessional symphony orchestras ally themselves with the school system in children's and youth concerts, new generations of listeners will be created to a growing degree. Collegiate interest in symphonic music, both in appreciation and in its performance, is almost

certain to increase, for colleges have been laggards compared to the public school system.

Radio broadcasting will continue to bring symphonic entertainment to large sections of the population and will be of special importance to those so situated geographically or so restricted as to income that they cannot attend concerts; in addition to which it will serve to whet the appetite of radio listeners for the experience of hearing actual concerts. Of special significance in this respect was the testimony of Los Angeles and Grand Rapids symphony concert audiences to the effect that between a fifth and a third of those responding had first become interested in symphonic music by hearing it over the air, that about two-thirds of them derived more pleasure from concert attendance than from radio listening, and that about two-fifths in Grand Rapids, and one-third in Los Angeles, had attended concerts more frequently since listening to symphony music over the radio than previously. Moreover, technical developments are impending in radio broadcasting which can materially improve the quality of symphonic reception over the air. If frequency modulation, ultrahigh frequency, and high fidelity broadcasting are carried to their logical conclusion it may be quite possible to bring almost all of the important tone values of the orchestra into the home, although the drama and personal appeal of actual concert attendance still will be missing. Naturally it is impossible to predict how soon these developments will be applied generally. However, progress has been sufficiently rapid in the past few years that it would be extremely unwise not to accord them the most serious consideration. Were

ultrahigh frequency broadcasting to be generally applied, it is possible that a fundamental modification of the radio station structure would result, with a material increase in the number of available stations. With more stations competing for program material and audiences, and with the possibility of a greater amount of unsponsored time, it is interesting to speculate what might be the effect on the amount of symphonic music broadcast to the public.

The great increase in the sale of symphonic phonograph records in the past few years is a highly significant indication of a permanent interest in music of this type, for, as in the case of radio listening, it is a sincere desire to hear symphony music which is the impelling force rather than social prestige or any similar motive. However, in the case of phonograph records, the expenditure of considerable sums is required to build up a record library. Just as in the case of radio broadcasting, phonograph records may safely be counted upon to whet the public appetite for actual symphony concerts rather than to be a competing force.

Even though the motion picture theater concert orchestra of the predepression period will probably remain a thing of the past, motion pictures themselves may be of increasing assistance in building a growing and continuing interest in fine music, symphonies included. Hollywood, of recent years, has discovered symphonic and other fine music and, applying it to a limited degree, has made it pay. There has been some experimentation in the past with symphonic shorts, a few of which seem to have attracted favorable audience reaction. There also

seems to be a possibility of developing other symphonic films, both standard and 16 mm., for use in schools and for showing before music, parent-teacher, and other similar groups as a further extension of the work in music appreciation.

All of these forces feed on each other and their effect is cumulative. They are supplementary rather than competitive and none of them are a substitute for the concert hall itself, providing the concert hall is attractive and the concert is intelligently designed to capitalize this new growing interest in symphony entertainment. The new potential audience for symphony concerts represented by the skilled players and partially initiated listeners turned out by our public schools and colleges, the millions of listeners to radio symphony programs, the thousands who purchase symphonic records and are building whole libraries of them, and those who may increasingly be stimulated in their interest in fine music by the motion pictures, is a challenge to present orchestra managements. It is fertile ground. What fruit it will bear will depend upon the intelligence and enterprise exercised in its cultivation.

This, however, is the groundwork for the future—maybe a distant future. As such it emphasizes the critical nature of the current symphony orchestra economic problem, for, unless orchestras can be placed upon a sounder basis and provided additional funds for expanded and improved service, the potentialities inherent in this development of interest in symphonic music cannot be realized. The fact remains that orchestras have not been able to meet their costs out of operating income

in the past, that the best of them earn less than 90 per cent, and that a few secure as little as one-third of their expenses from concert and other operating receipts.

It is obvious that but slight progress, if any, can be made toward increased financial stability by reducing expenses. Even in those orchestras that have summer seasons, average annual salaries of orchestra players seldom rise as high as \$4,000 and usually center about \$2,400; a small sum considering the amount of painstaking study and the high degree of skill required to attain a position with a major symphony orchestra. Moreover, the players' opportunities for supplementary income are so restricted that the pressure for the fullest measure of remuneration from playing in symphony orchestras is intensified. Unless new and unexpected sources of supplementary income arise, increased rather than decreased personnel expenses may be expected by many orchestras, especially the younger major orchestras and those secondary organizations aspiring to major status. Neither does curtailment of conductor expenses hold forth hope for greater financial stability, for even a 50 per cent reduction in conductors' salaries seldom would reduce the deficit by more than 5 to 10 per cent. Modification of the union agreement so that more concerts could be produced with smaller unit costs per concert does not seem to be a hopeful source of increased financial stability, although it is a subject worthy of the most careful study since it is the largest annual rather than the highest per-concert wage which is most to the players' advantage. Other costs have been cut to bedrock by decades of recurring deficits, and, indeed, some costs—notably ex-

penditures on orchestra promotion—have been held too low.

The only hope, therefore, of materially improving the economic position of symphony orchestras is to increase operating income and to build the orchestra firmly into the life of the community as an integral cultural force. Real opportunities exist along this line, but boards and, at times, managements have been too concerned with the financing of deficits to devote proper attention to the creation of audiences. It is most desirable that a new spirit permeate many symphony orchestras, that they break the closed circle of their thinking and view their potential audience as expanding rather than as having fixed limits. It would be extremely helpful, as stated several times previously, were symphony orchestras to develop a "merchandising" point of view—to seek to discover consumer needs and desires, to plan the product, symphony concerts, in accordance with them, and to develop a promotional program which will impel people to use the product. This is not inconsistent with the view that symphony orchestras are invested with a "public service" aspect, for some of the most effectively merchandised symphony orchestras today render the greatest measure of public service, and the repeated patronage of a satisfied public is one of the soundest criteria of service in the public interest. Moreover, it is easier to raise maintenance funds to meet deficits from a satisfied and enthusiastic public so that operating and nonoperating income are interdependent.

Evidence that the opportunity exists for the more effective use of present facilities on the part of many

orchestras is found in the fact that, for their regular concert seasons, the eight Group II orchestras fill an average of only 70 per cent of their hall capacity, while the younger Group III orchestras fill only 64 per cent. Increased audiences are more than a matter of pricing, since there seems to be no correlation between pricing and unsold capacity. This is true in spite of the obvious difficulty of the younger members of the community to raise sufficient funds to buy season tickets, a difficulty which merits careful study on the part of orchestra managements. Among the devices which can be employed to improve regular concert series audiences are better season-ticket promotion, including the most careful attention to mailing lists and advance information as to the concert season, more attention to the buyers of single tickets, avoidance of too great reliance on ticket-selling campaigns and other artificial stimulants, better and more consistent publicity, a carefully planned long-run program of public relations, more conscious programming to the public taste down to such matters as program length and the judicious use of guest artists, and, where possible, the improvement of hall facilities so as to make symphony concerts a pleasant, comfortable social event as well as a stimulating musical experience. All of these matters have been discussed in detail in earlier chapters.¹

Further opportunity for improving operating income exists in a careful diversification of services. Children's and youth concerts merit the most serious attention of all orchestras, not so much because of the income which they produce directly, as because of their value in build-

¹ See Chapters Six and Nine in particular.

ing future audiences and in enlisting widespread community support. "Pop" concerts of the Boston type have been successful where they have been applied in conjunction with adequate facilities. Undoubtedly some orchestras will benefit materially from touring, but this source of income will probably continue to be restricted to a comparatively few organizations. In this respect it should be extremely worth while for orchestras to consider developing logical areas of service rather than resorting to indiscriminate competition. Radio, likewise, is an uncertain factor, with worth-while opportunities restricted to a few orchestras. Phonograph recordings should constitute an important source of income for an increasing number of orchestras by reason of the growing competition in the field, but again it cannot be relied upon generally. Summer seasons can probably be made a much more important means of improving player income and a method of stimulating general public interest.

There is little probability, however, that any large number of orchestras—indeed, any—will be able to improve their operating revenues to the point where operating receipts equal expenses and deficit financing becomes unnecessary. Consequently, deficit financing should be viewed as a necessary feature of future orchestra economics. While endowment income would be a most desirable financial backlog, the probability of securing large sums is remote. Endowments are becoming increasingly difficult to raise, with the shrinkage in great fortunes and with rising taxation. This does not mean, however, that endowments should not be sought, for symphony orchestras are as worthy of the support

of wealthy patrons as are art galleries, educational institutions, or other more conventional objects of benefaction. On the whole, maintenance funds seem to offer the best promise of effective deficit financing. Direct government subsidies give rise to the threat of political intervention and the stultifying influence of "red tape." On the other hand, the purchase of a series of concerts by the local city government, as in San Francisco, or by a political subdivision such as a school or park board, seems to be a practical and acceptable form of government subsidy.

The needs and opportunities raised thus far in this chapter apply to both major and secondary orchestras. However, these smaller orchestras possess problems of their own. One of the most important is the constant need of improving the quality of their performance and the range of the repertoire which they can play successfully. Another is the need for expert counsel and assistance in the planning and execution of their activities—especially with regard to promotion. Since their managements are mainly amateur, orchestras of this type are greatly handicapped in developing a consistent and efficient promotional policy. A great many of the problems of secondary orchestras boil down to a question of adequate working capital to provide the groundwork for future expansion, a need not uncommon among major orchestras. If funds could be provided to assist these orchestras over the initial years of improved service, a most valuable contribution would have been made to the further development of American symphony orchestras. Whether this type of assistance should come from foun-

dations or from other sources remains to be determined.

Behind any lasting progress in the symphony orchestra field there must be a clearly thought out and consistently and continuously applied policy on the part of the boards and managements charged with the responsibility of maintaining the symphony orchestras of the country. This policy must be conceived in terms of meeting the musical needs and desires of the area to be served by the orchestra. It must be a realistic policy in that it must be planned in keeping with the ability of the community to support it, and must not be predicated upon some impossible competitive virtuoso goal. Rather, without sacrifice of basic quality, it must have the competent performance of the world's great music as its first objective. It must emphasize the value of the music first and the orchestra second. Much as it cannot completely overlook the power of personality, it must resort judiciously to the appeal of the "star"—conductor or guest artist—and to the element of social prestige. The policy which is adopted must be a long-run one, designed to capitalize the great opportunities inherent in the growing potential audience, and it must be applied without vacillation. Finally, it must be applied with a complete awareness of the working capital required in its execution and with a willingness to secure the funds required to establish expanded and improved service wherewith to secure increased community support. If policies of this type are developed and applied by the boards, managements, and sustaining organizations of our symphony orchestras, much of our present opportunities can be translated into future progress.

Although the task will not be an easy one, it should be possible to attain a measure of development in the future which will greatly eclipse the present remarkable accomplishments of American symphony orchestras. Indeed, nowhere in the world is the future so promising for symphonic music and symphony orchestras as in the United States. Here they are untrammelled by regimentation or totalitarian dictation, free from the physical and psychological drains of war, and sustained by a tremendously vital and spontaneous interest of ever growing numbers of people in performing and listening to symphonic music. The cumulative force of public opinion created by the thousands of competent young players being turned out by high schools, colleges, and conservatories each year, by the growing number of amateurs who are finding a deep and abiding pleasure in playing the world's great music together, and by the additional thousands who are becoming acquainted with symphonic music under unpretentious and inviting conditions each year through the radio, records, summer concerts, and similar means, has just begun to make itself felt. Granted a continuation of national well-being and peace, and the promotion of symphonic music for its own recreational and spiritual values, these potentialities can be turned into one of the most important contributions of this country to art and culture.

A

WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR THE CIN- CINNATI SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA (1939- 40) ¹

PLAN OF WORK

NAME—The Woman's Committee for the Cincinnati Sym-
phony Orchestra.

PURPOSE

1. To create and extend active interest in the welfare of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra.
2. To act as a service and publicity medium for the orchestra.
3. To help put the orchestra on a strong financial basis through the sale of new season subscriptions.
4. To popularize symphony concerts among all classes of people.

OFFICERS

1. President—a new president appointed each year by the Symphony Board with the advice of the Policies Committee of the Woman's Committee.
2. Vice-presidents—3 or more appointed each year by the president with the aid of the Policies Committee.
3. Department Chairmen—appointed by the president and

¹ Developed by Mrs. Miles Benham, Director of *Women's Activities*, 1939-40.

vice-presidents and Policies Committee to serve not more than two consecutive years.

Officers upon retirement are eligible to appointment on various committees. Presidents upon retirement automatically become members of the Policies Committee.

PROFESSIONAL STAFF—The services of a director of the Woman's Symphony Committee is provided by the Symphony Board, also the services of a secretary.

MEMBERSHIP—Every woman who agrees to make a sincere effort to promote the welfare of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra through the sale of new subscriptions is eligible to membership in the Woman's Committee for the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra.

DUES AND FINANCES—No membership dues are charged. The Cincinnati Woman's Committee is strictly a service and promotional organization. All financial responsibility for its operation and for the Symphony drives which it conducts are assumed by the Symphony Orchestra Board. All money made by the Woman's Committee is turned directly into the Symphony Orchestra treasury. All social expenses of the Woman's Committee are assumed by individual members of the Woman's Committee. Salaries of director and secretary paid by the Symphony Orchestra management.

WORK ASSUMED BY THE COMMITTEE

1. Assist in all maintenance drives "when and if any are necessary."
2. To conduct sale of advertising for special *Enquirer* rotogravure edition.
3. Follow up on renewals for season subscriptions each spring.
4. Conduct sale of new season subscriptions each fall.

5. Promote sale of season subscriptions for Young People's Concerts.
6. Decorate stage for special concerts.
7. Create and conduct feature publicity and all other publicity incident to Woman's Committee activities.
8. Assist in any special events scheduled and requested by the Symphony Orchestra Board.
9. Arrange for the entertainment of guest artists and conductors.

ORGANIZATION

HONORARY PRESIDENT

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President

5 Vice-presidents

POLICIES COMMITTEE—Past Presidents

Each vice-president to supervise and assist designated groups of departments.

Executive Committee members to serve as ex-officio members of all departments.

TICKET CAMPAIGN ADVISORY BOARD

To compile list of potential prospects for season subscriptions.

To help enlist new, reliable workers for ticket-selling committees.

To help initiate new and novel methods of selling season subscriptions.

DEPARTMENTS

Group I. Under Supervision of First Vice-president

ROTOGRAVURE COMMITTEE—To promote the publication of a special symphony roto section of the *Enquirer* on Sunday, September 17.

General Chairman

Assistant Chairman in Charge of Advertising

Assistant Chairman in Charge of Models

Solicitors—at least 35 to be chosen by chairman with the assistance of the executive committee.

BUSINESS RELATIONS—To serve as contact with retail stores for all interrelated symphony activities (fashion shows, displays, poster contest, package inserts, etc.).

To arrange with training directors of stores for sales course in symphony selling, both for symphony workers and sales people.

To organize sales committees of employees of 10 with each store for selling season subscriptions.

General Chairman

Assistant Chairman

PUBLIC RELATIONS—To serve as a medium for development of display publicity features, free outdoor advertising on bill boards, streetcars, taxicabs, trucks, telephone bills, and Coca-Cola trucks.

To arrange file of photographs of committee leaders to be used in rotogravure and general newspaper publicity.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

SPEAKERS' BUREAU—To induce all important clubs to have a symphony speaker on June, September, or October program.

To assemble competent and well-known speakers.

To arrange for speakers' conference (time, date, place, subjects, and leaders to be determined later).

To assign speakers to clubs or other groups desiring symphony speakers—assuming clerical work incident to assignment.

To provide publicity department with schedule of speaking date, clubs, speakers, and quotation of speakers each day.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

RADIO—To arrange for daily, weekly and semiweekly regular programs with all our local radio stations for the period of June 1 to June 30, September 11 to October 10. Plan different type of program to present for each station. After plans with each station become final, arrange for speakers and musicians.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee

SOCIAL RELATIONS—To form committee who will arrange for all social functions for the Woman's Committee including workers' teas and victory luncheon.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

VOLUNTEER OFFICE SERVICE—To assist with mailing, filing, and checking prospect lists and all clerical work in office preparatory and incidental to the fall ticket drive, May 1 through November 1.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

MUSIC APPRECIATION—To arrange midseason music appreciation lectures, nature, time, and place to be decided later.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Group II. Under Supervision of Second Vice-president

SPONSOR DEPARTMENT—To secure tickets to be given to students, approved institutions, or individuals who cannot afford to buy or pay full price for symphony tickets.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

HONOR CIRCLE—To encourage present Honor Circle members to win diamonds in their symphony pins and to induce other members of Woman's Committee to win a symphony pin this year. Honor Circle members of each year should be urged to work for diamonds, not just those of last year.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

NEW RESIDENTS—To visit new residents in each community to acquaint them with the merits of the symphony orchestra and to induce them to attend the concerts.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to be composed of chairman and 10 women within each community who will canvass neighborhoods for new residents and who will call upon them personally if possible.

OUT-OF-TOWN COMMITTEE—To arouse interest of residents of cities adjacent to Cincinnati in season tickets.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Group III. Under Supervision of Third Vice-president

PROFESSIONAL DEPARTMENT—To interest professional men in the purchase of season subscriptions.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committees to be grouped as follows with chairman and vice-chairman for each group:

Doctors	Public Officials	Board of Education
Lawyers	School Principals	Clergymen
Dentists	University and College	School Teachers
Internes	Faculties	Nurses
	Public Accountants	

SELECT SEATS DEPARTMENT (A)—To concentrate on the sale of \$45 seats.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 50 dependable women who will sell four \$45 seats each.

SELECT SEATS DEPARTMENT (B)—To concentrate on the sale of \$30 seats.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 50 dependable women who will sell four \$30 seats each.

BOX SEAT DEPARTMENT—To sell all of the box seats for both performances to individuals or firms.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 10 women each for Friday and Saturday concerts.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS—To induce industrial companies, banks, business firms—excepting department stores—each to subscribe as a means of rewarding employees or entertaining out-of-town clients.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 100 women.

APARTMENTS AND HOTELS—To interest permanent residents of apartments, apartment hotels, and hotels in the purchase of season subscriptions.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

MUSIC CLUB DEPARTMENT—To form committee of 10 women in every music club who will canvass respective membership for season subscriptions.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Group IV. Under Supervision of Fourth Vice-president

CIVIC CLUBS DEPARTMENT—To contact all civic clubs, both men and women, to induce them to buy a pair of season symphony tickets to be rotated among members or resold to members or given to worthy students.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of at least 5 women for each club.

EDUCATIONAL CLUBS DEPARTMENT—Same purpose as civic clubs department.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to be made up of at least 5 members for each club.

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL CLUBS DEPARTMENT—Same purpose and organization as civic clubs department.

CULTURAL CLUBS DEPARTMENT—Same purpose and organization as civic clubs department.

JUNIOR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT—To form education, publicity, and selling committees who will parallel work of senior Woman's Committee (work in co-operation with senior committee).

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

POLITICAL CLUBS DEPARTMENT—Same purpose and organization as civic clubs department.

FRATERNAL CLUBS DEPARTMENT—Same purpose and organization as civic clubs department.

PHILANTHROPIC BOARDS DEPARTMENT—Same purpose and organization as civic clubs department.

Group V. Under Supervision of Fifth Vice-president

MUSICAL ADVANCEMENT DEPARTMENT—To induce amateur and professional musicians to subscribe for season tickets.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to be made up of at least 5 women for each of the following music groups:

May Festival Chorus	Private Violin Teachers
Protestant Church Choirs	Private Voice Teachers
Jewish Choirs	Orpheus Club
Catholic Choirs	Organists
Private Piano Teachers	Public School Music Teachers
German Singing Societies	

YOUTH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—To educate youth as symphony listeners—develop higher sense of appreciation. To form speakers' group, to make up program to tie into the Young People's Concerts, to contact schools to offer service of speakers, to form study groups for public, private, and parochial schools in both elementary and high-school divisions.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

ART AND HANDICRAFT DEPARTMENT—To promote a finer sense of appreciation for symphony music among art students of greater Cincinnati schools, to conduct exhibit in spring of 1940.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

YOUNG PEOPLE'S CONCERTS DEPARTMENT—To promote the sale of season tickets to Young People's Concerts through all schools and junior organizations.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Chairman, Public Schools

Chairman, Private Schools

Chairman, Parochial Schools

Chairman, Sponsors

TICKET ORDER FOLLOW-UP DEPARTMENT—To contact subscribers who have not picked up tickets in fall—to deliver them if necessary.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee, geographically located, consisting of at least 25 women who will work September 10 through October 20.



JUNIOR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

PURPOSE

1. To assist with the general program of the senior woman's activities on behalf of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra.
2. To promote the sale of season subscriptions, each member to assume quota new season subscriptions.
3. To develop an educational program for all junior

groups relative to symphony music generally and the 1939-40 season specifically.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman in Charge of Group I

Assistant General Chairman in Charge of Group II

Assistant General Chairman in Charge of Group III

Assistant General Chairman in Charge of Group IV

Group I

“ENQUIRER” ROTOGRAVURE COMMITTEE—To obtain advertising for woman’s symphony roto section of *Enquirer* to be published on Sunday, September 17. To supply all junior models for advertisements at request of senior chairmen.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman in Charge of Advertising

Assistant General Chairman in Charge of Models

This committee to work in co-operation with senior chairman.

CO-ED COMMITTEE—To popularize symphony concerts among college students and to promote the sale of season tickets in all colleges in and near Cincinnati.

To sponsor social activities among college students in connection with the symphony.

To promote an interest in symphony music appreciation programs.

To encourage participation of college art students in woman’s symphony art and handicraft project.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman Representing Girls’ Colleges.

Assistant General Chairman Representing Miami University

University of Cincinnati committee to consist of representatives from each sorority and independent groups within mortar board.

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Girls' colleges committee of 15 from each college to be formed in each of following:

Our Lady of Cincinnati	Miami University
College for Girls	Music Schools—Conservatory and
Mt. St. Joseph College	College of Music
for Girls	

HIGH-SCHOOL COMMITTEE—To interest high-school students of greater Cincinnati in purchase of season subscriptions.

To plan and carry out educational and social events.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Chairman, Cincinnati Public High Schools

Chairman, Kentucky Public High Schools

Chairman, Private High Schools

Chairman, Catholic High Schools

SELECT SEAT COMMITTEE (A)—To sell \$45 seats in co-operation with senior committee.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 25 personable young women who will endeavor to sell four \$45 seats each.

SELECT SEAT COMMITTEE (B)—To sell \$30 seats in co-operation with senior committee.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 25 personable young women who will endeavor to sell four \$30 seats each.

Group II

SOCIAL COMMITTEE—To provide hostesses, ushers, and general assistance at all symphony social functions in co-operation with senior committee.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of at least 50 pleasant girls who will be ready to serve upon notice.

BOX SEAT COMMITTEE—To sell box seats for both Friday and Saturday concerts to individuals or to firms, in co-operation with senior committee.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 10 extraordinarily capable young women.

APARTMENT COMMITTEE—To interest permanent guests in hotels and residents of apartments in the purchase of season tickets. The apartments to be covered by this committee to be determined by mutual agreement with senior chairman.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of apartment chairmen, vice-chairmen, and committee of 10 women in each of designated apartments or hotels.

OUT-OF-TOWN COMMITTEE—To form symphony selling committees in all urban communities and small municipalities within radius of twenty-five miles of Cincinnati who will promote the sale of season subscriptions.

To promote social, educational, and publicity activities of Woman's Symphony Committee. This is to be done in co-operation with senior committee. Communities to be covered same as senior committee.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of community chairman, vice-chairman, and committee of at least 10 in each community.

SYMPHONY SEAT PLAN COMMITTEE—To take charge of seating plans at Woman's Symphony headquarters from September — to October —.

To assist workers in finding seat locations for new subscribers.

To assist subscribers in finding satisfactory locations.

To record daily the new subscriptions to be credited to Woman's Symphony workers.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 10 dependable women who will devote specific days to this work.

Group III

VOLUNTEER OFFICE SERVICE COMMITTEE—To secure office workers who will devote a given amount of time each week from May 15 through October 20 in Woman's Symphony office and downtown headquarters.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

SPEAKERS' BUREAU COMMITTEE—To organize a junior speakers' bureau who will assist with senior speakers' conference (date, time, place to be announced later).

To speak on behalf of the Symphony Orchestra.

To co-operate with senior chairmen in securing dates in clubs and providing speakers.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 10 or 15 competent speakers.

SYMPHONY TICKET BOOTH COMMITTEE—To "man" booths in department stores, hotels, for sale of season subscriptions during two weeks of drive, September 18-October 9.

To arrange and carry out schedule for booth workers.

To keep booths supplied with materials.

To hold conference—date, time, and place to be announced later.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 10 girls for each booth.

RENEWAL COMMITTEE—To follow up personally, or by phone, all unrenewed subscribers at time designated later to obtain 1940-41 subscriptions.

To form committee of 74 women who will serve at Friday and Saturday concerts during April, 1940, renewal booths to be “manned” by three women for each of 12 tables.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of at least 100 women.

Group IV

CLUB COMMITTEE—To arrange speaking dates for spring and fall club programs.

To organize selling committees for each club who will check membership lists with symphony files at symphony office. Then contact symphony nonsubscribers to induce them to buy season subscriptions. To induce them to buy tickets to be resold to members or given to worthy students.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of 10 for each club either from within or out of club membership.

FASHION SHOW COMMITTEE—To supply all models for all fashion shows held in the fall.

To assist with promotion of any show given for sponsors' fund, if one is given.

To co-operate with chairman senior department business relations for fashion show schedules and rehearsals.

General Chairman

Assistant General Chairman

Committee to consist of at least 50 models (experienced if possible) representing Junior League and college groups.

B

THE NATIONAL ORCHESTRAL SURVEY— NEW YORK

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CONCERT AUDIENCES ¹

1. a. What kinds of music do you like? (Please check one or more)
 -Serious—such as Beethoven, Wagner and Tschai-
kowsky
 -Light—such as Victor Herbert and Johann
Strauss
 -Popular—such as modern dance music
 -Homely—such as old-fashioned songs or hill-
billy ballads
- b. Please double check above the one kind you *prefer*.
2. a. What type of music rendition do you like? (Please check one or more)
 -Opera
 -Light opera
 -Oratorio
 -Symphony orchestra
 -Chamber ensemble
 -Dance orchestra
 -Vocal soloists
 -Instrumental soloists
 -Other (Specify below)
 -

¹ This questionnaire form, developed by the National Orchestral Survey, was distributed in concert programs to audiences in Grand Rapids, Mich., Harrisburg, Pa., and Los Angeles.

- b. Please double check above the one type of rendition you *prefer*.
3. How did you become interested in symphonic music? (Please check one or more)
-by repeated attendance at concerts
 -by listening to it on the radio
 -by listening to symphonic recordings
 -because you play some instrument
 -because of attendance at children's or young people's concerts
 -because of some other influence (Specify:.....)
 -Or did you always like symphonic music?
4. a. What type of musical education, either in schools or under private teachers, have you had? (Please check one or more)
-Music appreciation Music history
 -Harmony
 -Instrumental instruction (What instrument(s).....)
- b. Did you attend Children's or Young People's concerts before you were eighteen? Yes..No..
5. Are you or any of your family receiving any musical training at the present time? No..Yes.. (IF YES, please check one or more)
-Music appreciation Music history
 -Harmony
 -Instrumental instruction (What instrument(s).....)
 - (IF YES:) Which member(s) of the family?.....
 -
6. Do you or any member of your family play or sing with any musical group? No..Yes..
- (IF YES:) Which member(s) of the family?.....
- What kind of musical group?.....

7. a. Do you subscribe to a season seat for the concerts given by this orchestra or do you purchase seats for individual concerts? Season.. Individual concerts..
 (IF YOU ARE A SEASON SUBSCRIBER, PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION #8)
- b. Why do you *not* subscribe to a season ticket? (Please check one or more)
-Days of the week when concerts are given are not always convenient.
-Attend only when certain compositions are included on the program.
-Subscription costs more than I can afford.
-Other (Specify:.....)
- c. Have you been a subscriber in past years? No.. Yes..
- d. About how many concerts do you attend during the regular winter season and about how many during the summer season? NOTE: IF NO SUMMER CONCERTS ARE GIVEN IN YOUR CITY PLEASE WRITE "NONE" IN THE DESIGNATED SPACE—USE "O" IF THERE ARE CONCERTS BUT YOU DO NOT ATTEND THEM.
- Attend....winter concerts
- Attend....summer concerts
8. When is it most convenient for you and your family to attend concerts?

<i>Day of Week</i>	<i>Afternoon</i>	<i>Evening</i>
Sunday
Monday
Tuesday
Wednesday
Thursday
Friday
Saturday

9. a. Do you prefer concerts devoted entirely to the orchestra or when it is assisting guest artists? Orchestra alone. . . Guest artists. . . Some of each. .
- b. Out of any 10 concerts during a season, how many would you like to have with guest artists?
- c. Which types of assisting artists do you like? Double check the type you *prefer*.
 Vocal soloists Piano soloists
 Choruses Operas
 Violin soloists
 Ballets
 Other (Specify)
10. a. What symphonic radio programs do you listen to regularly?

- b. Do you enjoy listening to these programs as much as . . more than . . or less than . . attending actual symphonic concerts? WHY?

- c. Now that you can hear symphonic music over the radio, do you attend symphony concerts more often than before. . less often. . the same. . ? WHY?

11. a. Do you own any recordings of symphonic music? Yes. . No. .
- b. Do you prefer to hear symphonic works on the radio. . or on a phonograph?
12. What are your favorite symphonic compositions?

13. What factors are most important in your enjoyment of an orchestra concert? What would you change which might increase your enjoyment? (By factors we mean the conductor, the orchestra itself, type of programs, assisting artists, the hall, the seats, etc.)



FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES THE NATIONAL ORCHESTRAL SURVEY WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE RECEIVING THE FOLLOWING PERSONAL INFORMATION:

Age.. Country of birth:.....
 Sex: Male.. " " your mother's birth:.....
 Female.. " " " father's birth:.....

Type of Education: High School..College..Post Graduate..

Occupation of the head of the house:.....

If you are not the head of the house, what is your occupation?.....

Do you own a piano..phonograph..radio.. If you do *not* own a phonograph, does your radio have a record playing attachment? Yes..No..

What make(s) of automobile do you own?

.....Year.....
Year.....
Year.....

C

PROPOSED PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL BUREAU OF FINE ARTS ¹

To the Friends of the Arts:

Last spring, two Bills were introduced in Congress proposing the establishment of a permanent Federal Bureau of Fine Arts. These Bills became generally known as the "Pepper-Coffee Bills". The primary purpose of these Bills evidently was not so much to foster the arts or aid the artists, but to gain labor union control over them and to make the WPA arts projects permanent.

One other Bill introduced in Congress, the "Sirovich Bill", left out some of the more objectionable features contained in the Pepper-Coffee Bills, but retained those provisions which would make the WPA arts projects permanent. Senator Pepper later amended his Bill (April 20, 1938) and has offered a substitute Bill, identical with the Sirovich Bill. The Sirovich Bill was put to a vote during the closing days of the last session of Congress and was defeated by the overwhelming vote of 35 in favor of and 195 against the Bill. Since Senator Pepper's substitute Bill is now the same as the Sirovich Bill, there is not much doubt that this Bill also will be defeated.

¹ This plan was proposed by Dr. Walter Damrosch and is widely known as the Damrosch Bill.

There are among our artists a substantial number who feel that the government should stay out of the fields of the arts because there can not possibly be direct government subsidy without politics and undue government regulation of the arts. There are also many artists, however, who are of the opinion, and I think justifiably so, that government subsidy of the arts is desirable and that some plan could and should be worked out whereby the arts may become a proper subject of government recognition and concern.

When I appeared as a witness before the Senate Subcommittee on Education and Labor in opposition to the Pepper-Coffee Bills, I stated that I was "in harmony with all good citizens of our country who believe that the Government should recognize the importance of the arts". I agreed that the Government should organize "a Bureau or Department to demonstrate this recognition", but that such a Bureau should have no direct connection with relief projects and should only serve to promote and advance the arts among our people. Hon. Senator Pepper asked me if I would suggest a plan for such a Bureau. Naturally, I replied that the problem was not an easy one and that before making any suggestions on such an important matter, I would like some time to study the problem and also confer with, and receive the benefit of the suggestions from, outstanding members in the other fields of the arts.

Over a period of time, I invited many such persons to my home and we spent many hours together discussing the general subject of a Bureau of Fine Arts with a view toward developing a workable plan. Among these persons there were outstanding authors, dramatists, painters, architects, sculptors and representatives of the stage and the dance, all persons of achievement and of many years experience in their respective fields and whose names are well known to the American public. As a result of these conferences, and taking into consideration the suggestions, criticisms and recommendations made, the attached proposed plan has been

evolved, in the drafting of which we have been assisted by Mr. N. Henry Josephs, a New York attorney, who acted as counsel before the Senate Sub-Committee and who presented the various witnesses appearing in opposition to the Pepper-Coffee Bills.

The next session of Congress will not convene until January of 1939. In making this plan known at the present time, I have only one immediate hope, that is, that our plan may be widely circularized among artists, art critics, art organizations and those interested in the general welfare of the arts, for their suggestions and criticism. All recommendations will be carefully considered and such of them as will tend to improve and better the suggested plan will be incorporated therein.

The American public and our Government are now showing a more general recognition of the arts and their importance for our people and the question of a permanent Federal Bureau of Fine Arts will very likely be brought up again in Congress early this coming year. Therefore, I feel that we should take advantage of this general interest and work out a plan which would be accepted by our Government and which would further advance the arts in the interest of the cultural welfare of our Nation.

Cordially yours,

WALTER DAMROSCH.

New York, N. Y., December 10, 1938.

PROPOSED PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL BUREAU OF FINE ARTS

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SECTION 1. The high aspirations and achievements of the people of the United States in the field of the arts, particularly during the last few decades, constitute eloquent proof that the cultural development of the people of the Nation

and the further advancement of fine and applied arts are deserving of aid and subsidy on the part of the Government of the United States to the extent that the same be further encouraged and developed in the interest of the general welfare of the Nation.

It is, therefore, the declared policy of the Government of the United States that Congress appropriate funds out of the United States Treasury for the establishment of a National Bureau of Fine Arts.

NATIONAL BUREAU OF FINE ARTS

SECTION 2. There is hereby created an independent bureau to be known as the "National Bureau of Fine Arts" and herein referred to as the "Bureau". The Bureau shall have a Board of eleven Trustees to be known as the "Board of Trustees of the National Bureau of Fine Arts" and herein referred to as the "Board of Trustees".

It shall be the purpose of this Bureau to further the development of art in the United States and to perpetuate the cultural traditions of our country, through the education of the American people for a higher and fuller understanding and appreciation of the arts, with particular effort to be made to reach the greatest number of people and particularly those who at present are not able to receive the benefits now available in the larger cities of this country.

The Board of Trustees shall cooperate with, and to the extent that the same is feasible, shall work in conjunction with, the various agencies of the Federal, State and Municipal Governments now existing, such as the Commissioner of Education of the Department of the Interior, the Section of Fine Arts of the Treasury Department, the Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institute, State and Municipal Art Commissions, Boards of Education, Museums, Art Galleries and other similar agencies, and with private art institutions not organized for profit.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

SECTION 3. The Board of Trustees, nine of whom shall be persons not officers or employees of the Federal Government or of any State or Municipal Government and who shall be renowned in the fine arts and qualified by experience and training to perform the duties of their office and who shall be as nearly representative as possible of the several arts covered by this Act, shall be appointed by the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. All Trustees shall be citizens of the United States. The Trustees shall each serve for a term of two years and they may be reappointed. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees occasioned by death, resignation or otherwise shall be filled in like manner.

SECTION 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to supervise the activities and work of the several Departments herein created and to make all determinations of general policy necessary for carrying into effect the purposes of this Act.

SECTION 5. The Board of Trustees shall elect one of their number as Chairman who shall be presiding officer of the Board of Trustees and called the "Chairman of the National Bureau of Fine Arts." The Board of Trustees shall meet at least twice a year at its principal office which shall be in the District of Columbia where the Bureau, its several Departments, and the officers and the personnel thereof shall be adequately housed upon Government property. The Bureau may establish branch offices or agencies in any State and may exercise any of its powers within the United States and its territories and possessions. At any meeting of the Board, seven members shall constitute a quorum to do business. Each member of the Board shall be paid for necessary traveling and other actual expenses in attending meetings of the Board, and shall receive no other compensation whatsoever.

The Board of Trustees shall also elect a person suitable for the position to act as Secretary of the Bureau and who shall also be the Secretary of the Board of Trustees and who shall be known as the "Secretary of the National Bureau of Fine Arts." The Secretary of the Board shall be required to reside in Washington and shall devote his time and services exclusively to the business of the bureau, for which he shall receive annually as compensation the sum of Ten thousand dollars (\$10,000).

DEPARTMENTS

SECTION 6. There are hereby created five Departments of the National Bureau of Fine Arts to be known respectively as the Department of Music, the Department of the Theater and the Dance, the Department of Literature, the Department of the Graphic and Plastic Arts, and the Department of Architecture and Decoration.

Each Department shall consist of a Director at an annual salary of Eight thousand dollars (\$8,000) a year and a Secretary at an annual salary of Six thousand dollars (\$6,000) a year. The Director and Secretary of each Department shall be appointed by the Board of Trustees and selected from among persons qualified by experience and training in the field of the art of the particular Department for which they are appointed to perform the duties of their respective offices and upon application by the respective Directors, and to the extent that the same becomes necessary or is deemed advisable, the Board of Trustees may appoint Assistant Directors, Assistant Secretaries and clerical help at such salaries as may be fixed by the Board of Trustees. The Directors and Secretaries of the several Departments shall be responsible to the Board of Trustees, who shall have the power of removal by not less than a two-thirds vote of the entire Board.

Persons employed by the Bureau shall not be subject to the civil service laws or the Classification Act of 1923.

THE WORK OF THE BUREAU

SECTION 7. The Directors of the several Departments, under the general guidance and supervision of the Board of Trustees, shall, as soon as practicable, investigate and collect statistics, data, and information relative to the standards and methods now existing in the arts and shall, in the light of such information, prepare and submit to the Board of Trustees for their consideration and approval carefully developed plans and proposals, with full and complete details, designed to further the development of each of the arts under their respective Departments and designed generally to promote and aid the progress of cultural development among the people of the United States, within the purposes of this Act. Each such plan and proposal shall be accompanied by a separate application addressed to the Board of Trustees for the allotment of funds, out of the funds appropriated by Congress for the purposes of this Act, setting forth the amount required for the successful carrying into effect of each such plan and proposal.

The Board of Trustees shall have the power to refuse to approve any plan or proposal so submitted, with or without cause, or in approving the same, shall have the power to increase or reduce the amount of funds requested therefor, or to approve absolutely or conditionally any such plan or proposal, and if approved conditionally the funds allotted by the Board of Trustees shall then be used by the respective Departments subject to the conditions so imposed by the Board of Trustees.

Each Department shall then be charged with the duty of efficiently and successfully carrying into effect the plans and proposals submitted by it and approved by the Board of Trustees. The work of each Department shall include the creative, interpretative, research and teaching aspects of its particular art and allied arts.

ANNUAL REPORTS

SECTION 8. The Board of Trustees shall render to Congress a detailed annual report of its work and of the activities of the several Departments, together with a statement of all funds received and disbursed. The Directors of the several Departments shall make separate annual reports to the Board of Trustees on the work of their respective Departments and give a detailed statement as to the manner in which the various approved plans and proposals have been put into effect, the benefits generally derived therefrom by the American people and the manner in which the funds allotted by the Board of Trustees to their respective Departments have been spent. In these annual reports the Directors shall also include such additional statistics, data, and information relative to standards and methods prevailing in their respective fields and shall also make such additional recommendations for the consideration of the Board of Trustees as will further the purposes of this Act.

ARTS PROJECTS AND ART ACTIVITIES OF THE
WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

SECTION 9. Any and all records, reports, libraries and research materials of the various arts projects of the Works Progress Administration shall be made accessible to the duly authorized officers and representatives of the Board of Trustees and the several Departments of the Bureau for the purpose of study and examination with the end in view of using so much of the information thus made available as may, in the opinion of the Board of Trustees and the Directors of the several Departments, prove beneficial and desirable to the carrying into effect of the purposes of this Act.

The Bureau and its several Departments created by this Act shall be independent of, separate, distinct and apart from, the Works Progress Administration and any of the arts projects and activities of the Works Progress Adminis-

tration, which are now being carried as an emergency measure for the relief of the unemployed, and all right, title and interest in any and all assets, contracts and other property of the Works Progress Administration held by it in connection with its arts projects and activities shall remain and continue to remain in the Works Progress Administration.

APPROPRIATIONS

SECTION 10. There is hereby appropriated the sum of
dollars (\$) for the purpose of
carrying out the provisions of this Act until the fiscal year
ending June 30, 1940.

SEPARABILITY

SECTION 11. If any section or provision of this Act be decided by the courts to be unconstitutional or invalid, the same shall not affect the validity of the Act as a whole or any part thereof other than the part so decided to be unconstitutional or invalid.

SECTION 12. This Act may be cited as the "National Fine Arts Bureau Act".

SECTION 13. This Act shall take effect immediately.

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